



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



LEWIS  
AND  
CLARK













M E M O I R S

O F

**EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;**

Lieutenant-General of the Horse,

Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland*,

One of the Council of State,

A N D

A Member of the Parliament which began on  
*Nov. 3. 1640.*

V O L U M E II.

The THIRD EDITION.

E D I N B U R G H :

Printed by SANDS, MURRAY, and COCHRAN.  
For W. SANDS, A. KINCAID & A. DONALDSON,  
J. BROWN, and C. WRIGHT.

M D C C L I.

1711



# M E M O I R S

O F

EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq;

**T**HE act for putting a period to the parliament was still before a committee of the whole house, who had made a considerable progress therein, having agreed upon a more equal distribution of the power of election throughout England. And whereas formerly some boroughs that had scarce a house upon them, chose two members to be their representatives in parliament, (just as many as the greatest cities in England, London only excepted), and the single county of Cornwall elected forty four, when Essex, and other counties bearing as great a share in the payment of taxes, sent no more than six or eight; this unequal representation of the people the parliament resolved to correct, and to permit only some of the principal cities and boroughs to chuse, and that for the most part but one representative, the city of London only excepted; which, on account of the great proportion of their contributions and taxes, were allowed to elect six. The rest of the 400, whereof the parliament was to consist, (besides those

Vol. II. A that

## 2 *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq;*

that served for Ireland and Scotland), were appointed to be chosen by the several counties, in as near a proportion as was possible to the sums charged upon them for the service of the state; and all men admitted to be electors who were worth 200 l. in lands, leases, or goods.

Divers informations were brought against the Irish for murders committed at the beginning of the rebellion, and since, upon the English. The principal of the accused were, Col. Maccarty Reagh, who was seized in the county of Cork, the Lord Mayo in the county of Galway, the mother of Col. Fitzpatrick in the province of Leinster, with many others. And, for the encouragement of the plantations in Ireland, the parliament permitted the people of England to transport thither all sorts of cattle and grain free of all custom; and ordered, that their commissioners in Ireland should raise a revenue there for all such as had been wounded and disabled, and for the widows and children of those that had been killed in the public service.

The Vice-Admiral of Prince Rupert's fleet carrying forty pieces of cannon, was brought into Plymouth by the English seamen she had on board; who, finding a favourable occasion near Cape de Verd, seized the Captain, and the rest of the company, being all French and Dutch. Upon which the council of state received orders from the parliament to reward the said seamen, and to prepare an act to encourage others to follow their example.

The Dutch Admiral Van Trump, with 110 ships of war, and some fireships, being joined by seventeen men of war from Zealand, sailed from Goree, with orders to convoy safe out of  
the



the channel a fleet of near 500 merchant-ships, designed for France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Barbary, and the Levant, and to take all the advantages he could against the English. Here-upon the parliament passed an act for the sale of the estates of some, who, having been adjudged delinquents, had refused to lay hold of the favour extended to them of compounding; which they did to ease the people of some part of the charge of this war against the Dutch. Yet their occasions were so pressing, that they were constrained to lay a tax for some months of 120,000 l. a-month; which the people willingly paid, because they knew that it was wholly employed in their service.

Most of the Dutch merchant-ships were by bad weather and contrary winds driven back into their harbours, but their men of war kept out at sea. And Van Trump, having received advice, that Adm. Blake had sent away twenty of his ships to convoy a fleet of laden colliers from Newcastle, twelve towards Plymouth, and fifteen up the river, which had suffered some damage by storm, and that he had left with him but thirty seven ships of war, came into the Downs with fourscore men of war, and thirty of the ablest merchant-men of the fleet he was appointed to convoy. Notwithstanding which inequality of number, it was unanimously resolved in a council of war to fight the Dutch fleet. Accordingly a day or two after, ours engaged them about noon, and the fight continued till night separated them. In this fight we lost two ships, the Garland of 40, and the Bonaventure of 36 guns. And though, in recompence, we burnt one of their Admirals, and killed many

#### 4 *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq;*

of their men, particularly two Secretaries who were on board their Admiral; yet the Dutch were exceedingly elevated with this little success: and being informed, that the English fleet was in great want of all sorts of naval stores, they published a placart to prohibit the exportation of them hither under severe penalties. They also threatened to drive us out of the islands which we possessed in America; and, to that end, sent some ships to join Prince Rupert; which, with those revolted English, made up in all twenty five sail. The King of Denmark likewise promised to assist them by the next spring with thirty ships of war, for the sum of one million of guilders; which they agreed to pay to him.

In the mean time, the parliament, having received information of the misbehaviour of some officers in the late engagement, appointed a committee, whereof Sir Henry Vane, Mr. John Carew, and Maj. Salloway, were the principal, empowering them to place and displace officers, and to regulate all matters relating to the sea in such a manner as might be most conducing to the service of the state. These commissioners used such care and diligence in the discharge of this trust, that the face of affairs soon became much altered for the better; the ships that were unserviceable repaired, a considerable fleet put to sea well officered and well manned, the store-houses replenished with all manner of necessary provisions, and thirty frigats preparing to be built. Lt-Gen. Monk was also added to the Generals Blake and Dean, in the room of Col. Edward Popham, lately deceas'd, to take care of the equipping and commanding the fleet. And that nothing might be wanting on our part to preserve

preserve a good correspondence with such foreign states as were in amity with us, the parliament sent the Lord Commissioner Whitlock on an extraordinary embassy to the crown of Sweden; where he was received with all the honours due to his character.

The commissioners for the Irish affairs being at Dublin, Lt-Gen. Fleetwood came thither with his family: after whose arrival a commission was issued out for the trials of such as were accused of having murdered the English, which was directed to persons of known ability and integrity in each province. To those formerly accused, was added the Lord Muskerry, who was charged to have put many Englishmen to death in the way between his house of Mackroom and the city of Cork. Upon this accusation the said Lord was seized, and ordered to be prosecuted by the court of justice at Dublin for the same. The commissioners also, by order of the parliament, published a declaration, to inform the public, and particularly the adventurers who had advanced money upon the Irish lands, that the war in Ireland was concluded. This they did, as well that the said adventurers might have what was justly due to them, as that the poor wasted country of Ireland might have the assistance of their own purses and labour, to recover the stock and growth of the land; the Irish having all along eaten out the heart and vigour of the ground; and of late much more than ever, being in daily apprehensions of being removed.

All arrears due to the English army in Ireland were satisfied by the parliament out of the estates forfeited by the rebels, which were delivered to  
A 3 them

them at the same rates with the first adventurers. In this transaction those of the army shewed great partiality, by confining the satisfaction of arrears only to such as were in arms in August 1649; which was the time when the English army commanded by Lt-Gen. Cromwel arrived in Ireland. And though the hardships endured by those who were in arms before, had been much greater, yet nothing could be obtained but such a proportion of lands in the county of Wicklo, and elsewhere, as was not sufficient to clear the fourth part of what was due to them. Those who solicited the affairs of the army in Ireland with the parliament, having persuaded the adventurers that there were forfeited lands enough in one moiety of nine principal counties, they accepted of them for their satisfaction, and the other moiety was assigned by the act for the satisfaction of the soldiers: the rest of Ireland was also disposed of; only the province of Connaught was reserved for the Irish, under the qualifications agreed upon by the parliament. According to which, they were to be put into possession of the several proportions of land which had been promised them in the said province, that so the adventurers, soldiers, and others, to whom the parliament should assign their lands, might plant without disturbance, or danger of being corrupted, by intermixing with the natives in marriages, or otherwise; which, by the experience of former times, the English had been found to be, rather than to have bettered the Irish either in religion or good manners; and that the natives being divided by the river Shannon from the other provinces, and having garrisons placed round and amongst them in the most

most proper and convenient stations, they might not have those opportunities to prejudice the English as formerly they had. An act being drawn up to this purpose, the parliament passed it, reserving the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlo, and Cork, (together with the remaining part of the lands formerly belonging to the Bishops, Deans and Chapters of Ireland, whereof some had been already applied to augment the revenues of the college of Dublin), to be disposed of as the parliament should think fit.

The forfeited lands were divided between the adventurers and soldiers by lot, according to an estimate taken of the number of acres in the respective counties, in conformity to an order from the commissioners of parliament: by whom were appointed sub-commissioners to judge of the qualifications of each person, and others, who, upon certificate from the sub-commissioners for determining qualifications, were required to set out so much land in the province of Connaught as belonged to every one by virtue of the said act. They also established a committee to sit at Dublin, to receive and adjudge all claims of English, and others, to any lands; limiting a time within which they were obliged to bring in, and make appear their respective claims to be legal; to the end that the adventurers, soldiers, and others, might be at a certainty, and after such a time free from any molestation in the possession of their lands: and that none through ignorance or absence might be surprised, they prorogued the said time twice or thrice to a longer day.

The courts of justice erected at Dublin, and in other parts, proceeded vigorously in making inquisition

inquisition after the murders that had been committed. Maccarty Reagh, after much search into the matter whereof he stood accused, was acquitted by the court sitting at Cork; and so was the Lord Clanmaliere by that of Kilkenny: but the mother of Col. Fitzpatrick was found guilty of the murder of the English; with this aggravation, that she said she would make candles of their fat. She was condemned to be burnt; and the sentence was executed accordingly. Col. Lewis Moor and Lewis Demley were also found guilty of murder, for which they were hanged. Sir Charles Coote, with the rest of the court of justice in the province of Connaught, proceeded against the Lord Mayo, and declared him guilty of the same crime; for which he was executed according to the sentence pronounced against him.

The trial of the Lord Muskerry was long, by reason of a clause which he urged in his defence from a printed copy of the articles made with him; which though it had been unjust for me to grant in the terms there mentioned, yet would have cleared him, and thrown the blame and guilt upon me; for articles given ought to be made good. But this clause, upon search into the original, which I kept, appeared to have been inserted by themselves in the print, which they produced for evidence, under pretence of having lost the original articles signed by me. Notwithstanding which, it appearing, that tho' divers of the English were murdered by the convoy appointed to conduct them safe to Cork, the Lord Muskerry had taken what care he could for their security, and had done what in him lay to bring the person who was guilty of that blood  
to

to justice, the court acquitted him; and he was permitted, according to his articles, to pass into Spain. I have heard, that, upon his arrival in that kingdom, a faction appeared against him, upon account of his former opposition to the Pope's nuncio in Ireland; so that he, finding but cold entertainment there, entered into a treaty to put himself and his men into the service of the Venetians.

Luke Took, the head of a sept in the county of Wicklo, being conscious of his guilt, had formerly desired my pass to come and treat with me about conditions for laying down the arms of himself and party; and to induce me to give him more favourable terms, said, he had a horse and saddle worth 100 l. which he desired I would accept of. I refusing his present, he took it as an ill omen to him: for they are so accustomed to bribe their magistrates in that country, that if any one refuse their presents, they presently conclude him to be their enemy, and give their cause for lost; and therefore he submitted not at that time. But now, supposing he could by no means avoid falling into our hands, by reason of the number of our garrisons placed in all parts amongst them, who by this time were as well acquainted with their retreats and fastnesses as themselves, and it may be thinking there would not appear sufficient evidence to prove him guilty, he submitted upon the same condition I had formerly offered to him; which was, "That he should be liable to be questioned for murder;" whereof being accused before the court at Dublin, he was convicted, sentenced, and executed.

Sir

Sir Phelim O Neal, head also of a sept, and one who had as great a share as any in the contriving and carrying on the massacre and rebellion, fell into the hands of the Lord Cawfield, whose brother he had caused to be murdered at the beginning of the rebellion, in this manner. O Neal being a neighbour of the Lord Cawfield, came to him under the pretence of friendship, with about half a dozen friends, to his castle of Charlemont; where being received, he and those that were with him were carried to drink in the cellar by the Lord Cawfield, (both of them being too much addicted to that which the world calls good fellowship). After some time Sir Phelim O Neal fires a pistol, which was a signal agreed on; and immediately thirty Irish entered and surprised the castle, taking the Lord, his mother, Lady, and children, with the rest of the family prisoners; and, after three or four days, murdered the Lord Cawfield, the rest hardly escaping with their lives. But now the commissioners of parliament having by their prescribed lines, within which all were obliged to inhabit, withdrawn provisions from the enemy, who could not be supplied without hazard of their lives, thought fit, as a further means to reduce them, to set a sum of money upon the heads of the principal of those who yet persisted in their rebellion, upon some 20, others 40, and upon Sir Phelim O Neal 100 l. to bring him dead or alive. This was such an encouragement to look after him, that one of the country-people having notice that he was in an island in the north, gave intelligence thereof to the Lord Cawfield; who having brought together a party of horse and foot, entered the island in



in boats, and seized him there. From thence he carried him to Dublin; where divers of his cruelties to the English being proved against him, he was sentenced by the court of justice to be put to death, and his head to be set upon the gate that stands at the foot of the bridge; which was put in execution accordingly.

Thus the enemy, by the blessing of God upon the counsels of the parliament, and endeavours of their armies, was every where dispersed and conquered, and the nation likely to attain in a short time that measure of happiness which human things are capable of; when, by the ambition of one man, the hopes and expectations of all good men were disappointed, and the people robbed of that liberty which they had contended for at the expence of so much blood and treasure.

Gen. Cromwel had long been suspected by wise and good men; but he had taken such care to form and mould the army to his humour and interests, that he had filled all places either with his own creatures, or with such as hoped to share with him in the sovereignty, and removed those who, foreseeing his design, had either the courage or honesty to oppose him in it. His pernicious intentions did not discover themselves openly till after the battle at Worcester, which, in one of his letters to the parliament, he called *the crowning victory*. At the same time when he dismissed the militia, who had most readily offered themselves to serve the commonwealth against the Scots, he did it with anger and contempt; which was all the acknowledgment they could obtain from him for their service and affection to the public cause. In a word, so much was he elevated with that success, that Mr. Hugh Peters,

Peters, as he since told me, took so much notice of it, as to say in confidence to a friend upon the road in his return from Worcester, "That Cromwel would make himself King." He now began to despise divers members of the house whom he had formerly courted, and grew most familiar with those whom he used to shew most aversion to; endeavouring to oblige the Royal party, by procuring for them more favourable conditions than consisted with the justice of the parliament to grant, under colour of quieting the spirits of many people, and keeping them from engaging in new disturbances to rescue themselves out of those fears, which many who had acted for the King yet lay under; though at the same time he designed nothing, as by the success was most manifest, but to advance himself by all manner of means, and to betray the great trust which the parliament and good people of England had reposed in him. To this end, he pressed the act of oblivion with so much importunity, that though some members earnestly opposed its bearing date till after some months, as well in justice to those of that party who had already fined for their delinquency, that others as guilty as themselves, might be upon an equal foot with them, as that the state might by that means be supplied with money, which they wanted, and that such who had been plundered by the enemy, might receive some satisfaction from those who had ruined them; yet nothing could prevail upon the General; and so the act was passed: the parliament being unwilling to deny him any thing for which there was the least colour of reason.

But though he had gained this point, and  
eagerly

eagerly coveted his own advancement, he thought it not convenient yet to unmask himself; but rather to make higher pretences to honesty than ever he had done before, thereby to engage Maj.-Gen. Harrison, Col. Rich, and their party, to himself. To this end, he took all occasions in their presence to asperse the parliament, as not designing to do those good things they pretended to; but rather intending to support the corrupt interests of the clergy and lawyers. And though he was convinced, that they were hastening with all expedition to put a period to their sitting, having passed a vote, that they would do it within the space of a year, and that they were making all possible preparations in order to it; yet did he industriously publish, that they were so in love with their seats, that they would use all means to perpetuate themselves. These and other calumnies he had with so much art insinuated into the belief of many honest and well-meaning people, that they began to wish him prosperity in his undertaking. Divers of the clergy from their pulpits began to prophesy the destruction of the parliament, and to propose it openly as a thing desirable: insomuch that the General, who had all along concurred with this spirit in them, hypocritically complained to Quartermaster-Gen. Vernon, "That he was  
" pushed on by two parties to do that, the con-  
" sideration of the issue whereof made his hair  
" to stand an end." "One of these, said he, is  
" headed by Maj.-Gen. Lambert; who, in re-  
" venge of that injury the parliament did him,  
" in not permitting him to go into Ireland with a  
" character and conditions suitable to his merit,  
" will be contented with nothing less than their  
" dissolution. Of the other Maj.-Gen. Harrison is

“ the chief; who is an honest man, and aims at  
 “ good things; yet, from the impatience of his  
 “ spirit, will not wait the Lord’s leisure, but hur-  
 “ ries me on to that which he and all honest men  
 “ will have cause to repent.” Thus did he craft-  
 ily feel the pulse of men towards this work; en-  
 deavouring to cast the infamy of it on others, re-  
 serving to himself the appearance of tenderness to  
 civil and religious liberty, and of screening the na-  
 tion from the fury of the parties before mentioned.

This mine of his was not wrought with so  
 much privacy, but it was observed by some dis-  
 cerning men of the parliament, especially by  
 those who had the direction and management of  
 the war with Holland. These men endeavoured  
 to countermine him two ways: First, by balan-  
 cing his interest in the army with that of the fleet;  
 procuring an order from the parliament, whose  
 ear they had upon all occasions, by reason of  
 the importance of the war with the Dutch, to  
 send some regiments of the army to strengthen  
 the fleet: and, secondly, by recommending, as  
 an easy way to raise money in that exigency, the  
 sale of Hampton-court, and other places, that  
 were esteemed as baits to tempt some ambitious  
 man to ascend the throne. The parliament ha-  
 ving ordered these things to be done, the Gene-  
 ral, sensible of the design, and of the conse-  
 quences of suffering the army to be new-mould-  
 ed, and put under another conduct, made haste  
 to execute his former resolutions; railing to Col.  
 Okey, and other officers of the army, against  
 divers members of the parliament, affirming  
 that little good could be expected from that body  
 where such men had so great an influence. At  
 the same time he made the most solemn profes-  
 sions

sions of fidelity to the parliament; assuring them, that if they would command the army to break their swords over their heads, and to throw them into the sea, he would undertake they should do it. Yet did he privately engage the officers of the army to draw up a petition to the parliament, That, for the satisfaction of the nation, they would put that vote which they had made for fixing a period to their sitting, into an act: which whilst the officers were forming and debating, the General having, it seems, for that time altered his counsels, sent Col. Desborough, one of his instruments, to the council of officers; who told them, that they were a sort of men whom nothing could satisfy; that the parliament were more ready to do any good than they to desire it; that they ought to rely upon their word and promise to dissolve themselves by the time prefixed; and that to petition them to put their vote into an act, would manifest a diffidence of them, and lessen their authority, which was so necessary to the army. The General coming into the council whilst Desborough was speaking, seconded him. To which some of the officers took the liberty to reply, That they had the same opinion of the parliament and petition with them; and that the chief argument that moved them to take this matter into consideration, was the intimation they had received, that it was according to the desires of those who had now spoken against it, and whose latter motion they were much more ready to comply with than their former. Thus was this business stilled for the present, none being so well able to lay the evil spirit as those that had raised it. But either the General's am-

bition was so great, that he could not forbear ascending the throne, till the time limited by the parliament for their sitting was expired; or his fears hastened him to the accomplishment of his design, lest the disinterested proceeding of the parliament, who were about to leave the nation under a form of government that provided sufficiently for the good of the community, might work the people into a greater aversion to his selfish design. Certain it is, that he vehemently desired to be rid of this parliament, that had performed such great things, having subdued their enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; established the liberty of the people; reduced the kingdom of Portugal to such terms as they thought fit to grant; mainrained a war against the Dutch with that conduct and success, that it seemed now drawing to a happy conclusion; recovered our reputation at sea, secured our trade, and provided a powerful fleet for the service of the nation. And however the malice of their enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the glory which they justly merited; yet it will appear to unprejudiced posterity, that they were a disinterested and impartial parliament, who though they had the sovereign power of the three nations in their hands for the space of ten or twelve years, did not in all that time give away amongst themselves so much as their forces spent in three months; no, not so much as they spent in one, from the time that the parliament consisted but of one house, and the government was formed into a commonwealth. To which ought to be added, that, after so many toils and hazards, so much trouble and loss for the public good, they were not unwilling to put an end

end to their power, and to content themselves with an equal share with others, for the whole reward of their labours. Of this Cromwel was very sensible, as well as of their great skill and experience in the management of public affairs, and of the good esteem they had acquired amongst the most discerning part of the nation; and therefore was very desirous to lay them aside with as little noise as might be. To this end, after he had resolved not to suffer the act for their dissolution to be finished, he would needs persuade them to be the instruments of their own destruction, by putting a period to themselves, and at the same time investing a certain number with the supreme authority; not doubting, when they had so done, to find pretences enough to disperse any such; well knowing, that when the face of civil authority was once taken away, the power would naturally fall into the hands of that person who had the greatest interest in the army, which he supposed to be himself. This made him join with Maj.-Gen. Harrison; being confident that when he had used him and his party to dissolve the present government, he could crush both him and them at his pleasure. And though it was no difficult matter to discover this, yet those poor deluded, however well-meaning men, would not believe it. But all were not so blind: for divers members of the parliament, whom he endeavoured to cajole into a good opinion of his design, being very sensible of the great mischiefs that must necessarily ensue from such courses, resolved either to dissuade him from them, or endeavour to countermine him therein. To this end, they had several meetings with Cromwel: at one of

B 3

which,

which, when he and his party laboured to shew that it was impossible for the parliament, consisting, as they said, for the most part of men interested in the corruptions of the law and the clergy, to effect those things that good men expected from them; Maj. Salloway desired of them, that before they took away the present authority, they would declare what they would have established in its room. To which it was replied by one of the General's party, That it was necessary to pull down this government, and it would be time enough then to consider what should be placed in the room of it. So both parties understanding one another, prepared to secure themselves.

The parliament now perceiving to what kind of excesses the madness of the army was like to carry them, resolved to leave as a legacy to the people the government of a commonwealth by their representatives, when assembled in parliament, and in the intervals thereof by a council of state, chosen by them; and to continue till the meeting of the next succeeding parliament, to whom they were to give an account of their conduct and management. To this end, they resolved, without any farther delay, to pass the act for their own dissolution. Of which Cromwel having notice, makes haste to the house; where he sat down, and heard the debate for some time. Then calling to Maj.-Gen. Harrison, who was on the other side of the house, to come to him, he told him, "That he judged  
" the parliament ripe for a dissolution," and this to be the time of doing it. The Major-General answered, as he since told me; "Sir, The work  
" is very great and dangerous; therefore I de-  
" fire



“ fire you seriously to consider of it before you  
“ engage in it.” “ You say well,” replied the  
General; and thereupon sat still for about a quar-  
ter of an hour. And then the question for pass-  
ing the bill being to be put, he said again to  
Maj.-Gen. Harrison, “ This is the time I must  
“ do it;” and suddenly standing up, made a  
speech, wherein he loaded the parliament with  
the vilest reproaches; charging them not to  
have a heart to do any thing for the public  
good, to have espoused the corrupt interest of  
Presbytery and the lawyers, who were the sup-  
porters of tyranny and oppression; accusing  
them of an intention to perpetuate themselves  
in power, had they not been forced to the pass-  
ing of this act, which he affirmed they designed  
never to observe; and thereupon told them,  
that the Lord had done with them, and had  
chosen other instruments for the carrying on his  
work that were more worthy. This he spoke  
with so much passion and discomposure of mind,  
as if he had been distracted. Sir Peter Went-  
worth stood up to answer him, and said, That  
this was the first time that ever he had heard  
such unbecoming language given to the parlia-  
ment; and that it was the more horrid in that it  
came from their servant, and their servant whom  
they had so highly trusted and obliged. But as  
he was going on, the General stepped into the  
midst of the house; where, continuing his dis-  
tracted language, he said, “ Come, come, I will  
“ put an end to your prating.” Then walking  
up and down the house like a madman, and  
kicking the ground with his feet, he cried out,  
“ You are no parliament, I say you are no par-  
“ liament; I will put an end to your sitting;  
“ call

“ call them in, call them in.” Whereupon the Serjeant attending the parliament, opened the doors; and Lt-Col. Worsley with two files of musketeers entered the house. Which Sir Henry Vane observing from his place, said aloud, “ This is not honest, yea it is against morality “ and common honesty.” Then Cromwel fell a-railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, “ O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane! the “ Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane!” Then looking upon one of the members, he said, “ There sits a drunkard;” and giving much reviling language to others, he commanded the mace to be taken away, saying, “ What shall “ we do with this bauble? Here, take it away.” Having brought all into this disorder, Maj.-Gen. Harrison went to the Speaker as he sat in the chair, and told him, That seeing things were reduced to this pass, it would not be convenient for him to remain there. The Speaker answered, That he would not come down unless he were forced. “ Sir, said Harrison, I will lend “ you my hand;” and thereupon putting his hand within his, the Speaker came down. Then Cromwel applied himself to the members of the house, who were in number between 80 and 100, and said to them, “ ’Tis you that have “ forced me to this; for I have sought the Lord “ night and day, that he would rather slay me, “ than put me upon the doing of this work.” Hereupon Alderman Allen, a member of parliament, told him, that it was not yet gone so far, but all things might be restored again; and that if the soldiers were commanded out of the house, and the mace returned, the public affairs might go on in their former course. But Cromwel, having

having now passed the Rubicon, not only rejected his advice, but charged him with an account of some hundred thousand pounds; for which he threatened to question him, he having been long treasurer for the army; and in a rage committed him to the custody of one of the musketeers. Alderman Allen told him, That it was well known, that it had not been his fault that his account was not made up long since; that he had often tendered it to the house; and that he asked no favour from any man in that matter. Cromwel, having acted this treacherous and impious part, ordered the guard to see the house cleared of all the members; and then seized upon the records that were there, and at Mr. Scobel's house. After which he went to the Clerk, and snatching the act of dissolution, which was ready to pass, out of his hand, he put it under his cloak; and having commanded the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall.

This villanous attempt was much encouraged by Nieuport and the other Ambassadors lately arrived from Holland, with instructions to conclude a peace; who finding the parliament supported by the affections of the people, because acting for their interest, and therefore not to be forced, much less cheated into an unjust and disadvantageous agreement, instigated Cromwel to take the power into his hands; well understanding, that he would soon be necessitated to make peace with them upon what terms they should think fit; in the mean time resolving to interrupt our trade, and to put the nation to a great expence to maintain a fleet for the guard of the seas, which they knew the people would be unwilling to keep when they should perceive that  
it

it served only to uphold and strengthen a tyranny. They also had made preparations to send over money, arms, and men, with Lt-Gen. Middleton, to enable the mountaineers of Scotland to give disturbance to the English interest there.

Cromwel being returned to Whitehall, found the council of war in debate concerning this weighty affair, and informed them, that he had done it, and that they needed not to trouble themselves any further about it. Some of the officers of the army well affected to the public cause, and not of his junto, of whom were Col. Okey and others, repaired to the General, to desire satisfaction in that proceeding; conceiving that the way they were now going, tended to ruin and confusion. To these, having not yet taken off his mask, but pretending to more honesty and self-denial than ever, he professed himself resolved to do much more good, and with more expedition, than could be expected from the parliament. Which professions from him put most of them to silence; and moved them to a resolution of waiting for a farther discovery of his design, before they would proceed to a breach and division from him. But Col. Okey being jealous that the end would be bad, because the means were such as made them justly suspected of hypocrisy, inquired of Col. Desborough what his meaning was to give such high commendations to the parliament, when he endeavoured to dissuade the officers of the army from petitioning them for a dissolution, and so short a time after, to eject them with so much scorn and contempt; who had no other answer to make, but that if ever he drolled in his life, he had drolled then.

We

We who were in Ireland being not so well informed of these clandestine practices, and no less confident that the principles of some men who joined in this attempt were directed to the good of the nation; and that though some might be such arrant knaves as to have other designs, yet trusting that an impossibility of accomplishing the same would oblige them to fall in with the public interest, and not to be so very foolish to attempt the setting up for themselves, tho' we could not but have some doubts of the ill consequences of these things, yet thought ourselves, by the rules of charity, obliged to hope the best; and therefore continued to act in our places and stations as before.

Cromwel having interrupted the parliament in the morning of the 20th of April 1653, came in the afternoon to the council of state, who were assembled to do their duty at the usual place, accompanied by Maj.-Gen. Lambert and Col. Harrison, and told them at his entrance, "Gentlemen, If you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and since you cannot but know what was done at the house in the morning, so take notice, that the parliament is dissolved." To this Serjeant Bradshaw answered, "Sir, We have heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it. But, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved; for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves: therefore take you notice of that." Something more was said to the same purpose by Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scot. And then the council of state perceiving themselves

Selves to be under the same violence, departed.

Soon after Cromwel had thus barbarously treated the parliament, and effaced the civil authority, he sent for Maj. Salloway and Mr. John Carew; to whom he complained of "the great weight of affairs that by this undertaking was fallen upon him; affirming, that the thoughts of the consequences thereof made him to tremble; and therefore desired them to free him from the temptations that might be laid before him; and, to that end, to go immediately to the Chief Justice St. John's, Mr. Selden, and some others, and endeavour to persuade them to draw up some instrument of government that might put the power out of his hands." To this it was answered by Maj. Salloway, "The way, Sir, to free you from this temptation, is for you not to look upon yourself to be under it, but to rest persuaded, that the power of the nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was." Cromwel perceiving, by this answer, that he was better understood than he could have wished, fell upon another expedient before he would openly discover himself, appointing a meeting of the chief officers of the army to be at Whitehall, in order to consider what was fit to be done in this exigency.

Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Col. Harrison, and divers other officers, were at this assembly; where Maj. Salloway, though he had then no command, was desired to be present. Maj.-Gen. Lambert moved, that a few persons, not exceeding the number of ten or twelve, might be intrusted with the supreme power. Maj.-Gen. Harrison was for a greater number; inclining most to that of seventy, being the number of which the

Jewish sanhedrim consisted. But after some debate it was resolved, that out of each county and city in England, Ireland, and Scotland, a certain number of persons, as near as might be proportionable to their payments toward the public charge, should be nominated by the council of officers to be sent for, to meet at Westminster on a certain day; where all the authority of the nation should be delivered into their hands, by an instrument signed and sealed by the General and the officers, obliging themselves to yield obedience to their orders. The Gentlemen who were summoned, met at the time and place appointed; where, after they had heard the General's harangue, in which he seemed to acknowledge the goodness of the Lord, in that he saw that day wherein the saints began their rule in the earth, &c. they went into the house wherein the parliament used to sit, where they voted themselves to be the parliament of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Many of the members of this assembly had manifested a good affection to the public cause: but some there were among them who were brought in as spies and trappanners; and though they had been always of the contrary party, made the highest pretensions to honesty, and the service of the nation. This assembly therefore, being composed for the most part of honest and well-meaning persons, who having good intentions, were less ready to suspect the evil designs of others, thought themselves in full possession of the power and authority of the nation; and therefore proceeded to the making of laws relating to the public; amongst others one concerning the plantation of Ireland, settling the lands

there upon the adventurers and soldiers, together with an act for mariners; one for payment of some public debts, with divers others. They also made some progress in the reformation of the law, having appointed a committee to that end.

In Ireland we disbanded some of our forces, to the number of about 5000 horse and foot; and summoned a council of officers to adjust the arrears of the soldiers, and to put them into possession of the land assigned for their satisfaction; who, judging that it would not hold out to satisfy the whole, rated the best land of each county according to its intrinsic value; reserving the worst to be equally distributed amongst them, when the arrears should appear to be satisfied on the foot of the new valuation. The county of Dublin was in this estimate rated at 1500 l. for 1000 acres; the county of Wexford at 800 l. the county of Kilkenny at 1000 l. All which counties being within the province of Lempster, were rated by the act at 600 l. for 1000 acres. Instructions were also given to the committee for stating the accounts of the arrears of the soldiers; by which those who were disbanded in Connaught, had their arrears assigned in lands about Slego, those in Munster in the county of Cork, &c. Those who had been for some time with the Lord Inchiquin, and therefore thought fit to be disbanded, had their arrears assigned (upon my desire) together, about Collen, in the county of Kilkenny, that they might be the better able to defend themselves, and assist their friends upon occasion. Col. Theophilus Jones's regiment was reduced, his own troop and some others appointed to complete mine, and Col. Jones



Jones to be Major of my regiment, in the room of Col. Warden, who was disbanded.

The pay of some of the officers of the army was also reduced ; but yet they now received the pay of seven days *per* week, whereas before they had but four : but the general officers who had been paid seven days for a week, had some ten shillings, others five shillings *per* day, abated of their pay. Amongst whom it fell heavier on me than any other : for as my work was double, both as a commissioner of parliament, and Lieutenant-General of the Horse, so were my expenses also ; being obliged to keep a more plentiful table than any other of the commissioners, and more than twenty horses continually in my stable ready for service. But indeed, could I have seen our victories employed to the good of the commonwealth, I should have been satisfied without any other encouragement. And I can clearly make it appear, that, during the four years I served in Ireland, I expended 4500 l. of my own estate more than all the pay that I received.

The commissioners for the management of affairs by sea having not finished the time limited by the parliament for their acting, nor clearly seeing to what extremities things would be driven, continued to act in their station ; which they did with that diligence and vigour, that since the late engagement in the Downs they had equipped a very considerable fleet, and furnished it with all sorts of provisions, ammunition, and men. This fleet was commanded by Dean and Monk as Admirals, by Penn as Vice-Admiral, and by Lawson as Rear-Admiral. On the 2d of June 1653, early in the morning,

C 2

they

they attacked the Dutch fleet, commanded by Van Tromp, Evertzen, De Witt, and De Ruyter, on the coast of Flanders. Lawson, who commanded the blue squadron, charged through the Dutch fleet with forty ships; which storm falling principally on De Ruyter's squadron, Van Tromp bore up to his assistance. Which when our Admirals, who were both on the same ship, perceived, they engaged Tromp with the body of the fleet, and the fight continued till three in the afternoon; at which time the wind coming up contrary to the English, the Dutch fled, and were pursued by the lightest of our frigates. The next morning the two fleets found themselves again near each other, but for want of wind could not come to engage till about noon; at which time the dispute began, and continued very hot on both sides till ten at night. Our fleet charged the Dutch with so much resolution, and put them into so great disorder, that though their Admiral fired on them to rally them, he could not procure more than twenty ships of his whole fleet to stand by him, the rest making all the sail they could away to the eastward. But the wind blowing a fresh gale from the westward, ours pursued them so effectually, that they sunk six of their best ships, and blew up two others that were in the body of their fleet; taking eleven of their biggest ships, and two others, with 1300 prisoners, among whom were six of their principal Captains; and had not the rest of their fleet sheltered themselves between Dunkirk and Calais, where it was unsafe to expose our great ships by reason of the sands, we had probably taken or destroyed most of the rest. The Hollanders were much superior

rior to the English in number of ships ; but such was the courage and conduct of our men, that we lost but one ship in the fight, had but one Captain killed, except Adm. Dean, which indeed was a great loss, and about 160 private men killed and wounded. Our fleet having put their prisoners on shore, and left some of their ships to be refitted, returned to the coast of Holland, where they took many prizes. The people in Holland, seeing themselves as it were besieged by the English fleet, constrained the magistrates by their clamours to send their fleet again to sea ; which they reinforced with divers great ships, and some fireships ; so that they made up in all 140 sail. The English fleet were little more in number than ninety, yet resolved to fight the enemy ; and accordingly, detaching the lightest of their frigats, assisted by some greater ships, they engaged the Dutch, and maintained the fight till they were separated by the night. The next day little was done ; but on the day after they fought again : and though many of our men were sick of the scurvy, and that the Dutch had fireships, of which we had none, the wind also entirely favouring them ; yet did the fight continue in equal balance till two or three in the afternoon ; about which time their Admiral Van Tromp was killed with a musket-ball, as he walked upon the deck with his sword drawn. This so discouraged the enemy, that they made all the haste they could away towards the Texel ; and were pursued with that diligence by ours, that the ship of Cornelius Evertzen was sunk, with about thirty more, as we were informed by the prisoners taken, or saved from perishing. The victory was great,

but cost us dear ; for we lost eight of our brave Captains, whose names were, Graves, Peacock, Taylor, Crisp, Newman, Cox, Owen, and Chapman, with about 400 men. We had also about 700 wounded, and amongst them five commanders ; yet we lost but one ship in this fight. Our Admiral having put his prisoners, with the wounded men, on shore, and taken in provisions, returned with the fleet to the coast of Holland ; where many of the officers of the enemy's fleet, and others, ingenuously acknowledged, that the hand of God was against them, and that they ought not to contend any longer with us.

The English fleet being now absolute masters of the sea, no ship could stir out of the Texel without their permission. The Dutch were willing to impute their ill success to the treachery and cowardice of their officers. But so it was, by the blessing of God upon the endeavours of the parliament and their fleet, that, since the beginning of the war, we had taken, sunk, and destroyed, between 14 and 1500 of their ships, of which many were considerable men of war. Their seamen generally declined the service ; neither had they a sufficient number of ships to put to sea, though they had been furnished with all other accommodations. In short, matters were brought to that pass, that Mynheer Nieuport, one of the Ambassadors from Holland, demanded of some of the parliament-party what they intended to do with them ; endeavouring by all means possible to persuade them, that the ruin of the Dutch would be prejudicial to themselves. Our friends plainly told him, that they desired nothing but a coalescence with them, and

and then would be as ready to promote the good of Holland as their own. To this the Ambassador replied, That he would engage his masters should send us a blank; and that what conditions soever we should think fit to write on it, they would subscribe. Soon after they sent Ambassadors to treat in good earnest concerning a peace; which they were the more necessitated to do, by reason of some divisions amongst themselves on account of the Prince of Orange's interest. But this attempt proved ineffectual, and they not able to prevail, as long as the face of authority remained in England, without consenting to the coalescence. For many of the present assembly acting with sincerity for the public, and therefore little suspecting the treachery of others, resolved, whilst they had opportunity, to be doing their duty, and to discharge the trust committed to their care, according to the best of their judgment, for the good of the commonwealth. They issued forth orders for regulating the excise and customs; and enlarged the powers of the committee established for trade. They made all necessary preparations for carrying on the war by sea; and declared Gen. Robert Blake, Gen. George Monk, Maj.-Gen. Desborough, and Vice-Adm. Penn, to be the four Generals of the fleet of the commonwealth; empowering them, with some others, to manage the affairs of the admiralty for six months. They also gave order to prepare an act to erect a high court of justice for proceeding against such as should surprise or betray any of the fortresses, magazines, or ships of the commonwealth, into the hands of the enemy; and also against those who should, contrary to the

the laws already made, proclaim any to be King of England or Ireland; whereby it is manifest they suspected the design on foot, though their jealousy did not at all defer, but rather hasten the execution of it.

The perfidious Cromwel, having forgot his most solemn professions and former vows, as well as the blood and treasure that had been spent in this contest, thought it high time to take off the mask; and resolved to sacrifice all our victories and deliverances to his pride and ambition, under colour of taking upon him the office as it were of a High Constable, in order to keep the peace of the nation, and to restrain men from cutting one another's throats. One difficulty yet remained to obstruct his design; and that was, the convention which he had assembled, and invested with power, as well as earnestly solicited to reform the law, and reduce the clergy to a more evangelical constitution. And having sufficiently alarmed those interests, and shewn them their danger from the convention, he informs them farther, that they cannot be ignorant of the confusion that all things are brought into by the immoderate zeal of those in authority, and to what extremities matters might be reduced, if permitted to go on; possibly, said he, to the utter extirpation of law and gospel from amongst us; and therefore advised, that they would join their interests to his, in order to prevent this inundation. His proposition was readily embraced by the corrupt part of the lawyers and clergy; and so he became their protector, and they the humble supporters of his tyranny. But that his usurpation might seem less horrid, he so contrived it by his instruments, that

that some of the convention must openly manifest their disapprobation of their own proceedings, and under divers specious pretences put a period to their sitting. To this end, it was agreed by Mr. Rouse, chairman to that assembly, and the rest of Cromwel's junto, to meet earlier in the house than was usual; which was done accordingly on the 12th of December 1653, hoping, by surprise, to obtain a vote for their dissolution. Being met, Col. Sydenham, Sir Charles Wolfely, and others, according to their instructions, bitterly inveighed against the transactions of the convention; and particularly charged them with a design to destroy the army, by not making a sufficient and timely provision for their pay. They alledged, that though they had voted them a sum of money; yet having resolved to raise it by way of a pound-rate, it would take up so much time to bring it in, that the army must either starve by want, or oppress the country by free quarter. A second ground of their invectives was taken from a motion made, that the great officers of the army should serve without pay for one year. They accused them also of endeavouring to destroy the clergy, the law, and the propriety of the subject; instancing in their denying a right of presentation to the patrons of ecclesiastical benefices. In general, that they had not a frame of spirit to do justice; which they would have made out by their not relieving Sir John Stawell, when he made his application to them. Thus they endeavoured to cajole the clergy, lawyers, cavaliers, and all interests, except that which they should have had most regard to.

They thought to have prevented any debate about

about their design, by meeting so early in the morning; but they were deceived, and enough found in the house to answer their objections. To that concerning the army it was said, That the pound-rate was found to be the most equal way of raising money, and therefore resolved upon by them; not at all doubting that it would come in soon enough for the soldiers supply: that they thought it reasonable and just, that the great officers of the army, who were possessed of plentiful estates, and had received all their arrears, should abate somewhat of their superfluities, and serve for a little time freely, as well as those who were employed in civil affairs, whose labour and hazard was as great, and both equally concerned in the public good; especially considering how much this conduct would contribute to the ease and satisfaction of the people, who could not be ignorant that there were now no pressing occasions of charge or danger, the enemy being every where entirely subdued. To what had been done in order to a reformation of the law and clergy, it was answered, That as they conceived there was great need of it, so they had been told, that they were called together principally for that end; and that if they had done any thing too much therein, the Gentlemen who blamed them for it were very unfit so to do, having themselves been the men that pressed them continually to go much farther than they had done. To the objection concerning presentations, they said, That the method used therein seemed to them too unreasonable to be continued; it being in effect to give a power to the greatest of the parish, who were not always the best, to prescribe what religion they pleased

to



to the parishioners, by presenting a person, howsoever unfit for that office, to be their Minister. Lastly, In answer to the charge of denying relief to Sir John Stawell, it was answered, That the consideration of that matter was before them, and that they would not fail to act as his case deserved. The debate thus spun out, the house began to fill; so that Cromwel's party, despairing to carry their design by vote, broke off in an abrupt manner, saying, That it was not a time to debate, but to do something that might prevent those inconveniences which they pretended did threaten them. Then Mr. Rouse, who was of the plot, descending from his chair, went out of the house, and, with the rest of the cabal, repaired to Whitehall; where they subscribed a writing, taking notice of the power with which the army had intrusted them, and of the sense they had of their own inability to bring any thing to perfection for the good and settlement of the nation; and that therefore they resigned that power into the hands of Cromwel, from whom they had received it.

The other part of that assembly, who came with honest minds and sincere intentions to perform their duty, and to serve their country, kept their places in the house, and would not quit them till they were removed by a guard of soldiers sent by Cromwel to that end. And it seems remarkable, that though this body of men had not a clear authority according to the national constitution, and were called together with a design of rendering them odious, as well as to scare the lawyers and clergy into a compliance with Cromwel; yet many being convinced of the rectitude of their intentions, were brought

brought over daily to approve their actions. And as this treacherous and unworthy resignation of the power to Cromwel could not be carried by a vote in the house; so I have been informed, that the major part of those who were members of that assembly, could never be persuaded to sign the paper for that resignation, though importuned to it by all politic and devilish arguments imaginable.

This convention, who derived all the authority they had from Cromwel, being dissolved, after they had driven the clergy and corrupt part of the lawyers into his net, as had been designed, all men were full of expectation what step he would take next to advance himself. And because all honest men who stood near the centre of his actions had lost all hopes of good from him, he began to court and cajole those that were at a distance; whom he hoped the more easily to surpise, as less acquainted with his treacherous designs. Amongst others I received a message from him by one of my relations, to assure me of his friendship, and intentions to do as much for me as for any man.

After a few days, a council of field-officers was summoned; where Maj.-Gen. Lambert having rehearsed the several steps and degrees by which things had been brought to the present state wherein they were, and pressed the necessity incumbent upon the army, to provide something in the room of what was lately taken away, presented to them a paper, intituled, *An instrument of government*, which he read in his place. Some of the officers being convinced, that the contents of this instrument tended to the sacrificing all our labours to the lust and ambition of

a single person, began to declare their unwillingness to concur in it. But they were interrupted by the Major-General; and informed, that it was not now to be disputed, whether this should be the form of government or not; for that was already resolved, it having been under consideration for two months past: neither was it brought before them with any other intention, than to give them permission to offer any amendment they might think fit, with a promise that they should be taken into consideration. The council of officers perceiving to what terms they were restrained, proposed, that it might be declared in this instrument, that the General of the army should, after this first time, be held incapable of being Protector; (for that was the title given by this instrument to the chief magistrate, though some were said to have moved that it might be King); that none of the relations of the last Protector should be chosen at the next succeeding election; and that a general council of all the commission-officers who were about the town, should be summoned to consider thereof. To these propositions they could obtain no other answer, than that they should be offered to the General, which was the title they yet gave to Cromwel. At the next meeting of officers, it was not thought fit to consult with them at all; but they were openly told by Maj.-Gen. Lambert, that the General would take care of managing the civil government. And then, having required them to repair to their respective charges, where their troops and companies lay, that they might preserve the public peace, he dismissed them.

Thus was this important business, that so  
Vol. II. D highly

highly concerned the nation, and in some measure all Europe, in a clandestine manner carried on and huddled up by two or three persons; for more they were not who were let into the secret of it: so that it may justly be called a work of darkness. This instrument appointed the legislative power to be in the representative of the people, and the Protector; that a parliament should be chosen every three years, which should sit five months, if they thought fit, without any interruption; that their first meeting should be on the 13th of September next ensuing; that the members of whom the parliament was to consist, should be chosen by the people; that whatsoever they would have enacted, should be presented to the Protector for his consent; and that if he did not confirm it within twenty days after it was first tendered to him, it should have the force and obligation of a law; provided that it extended not to lessen the number or pay of the army, to punish any man on account of his conscience, or to make any alteration in the instrument of government; in all which a negative was reserved to the single person. It provided also, that all writs should issue out in the Protector's name; that most of the magistrates should be appointed, and all honours conferred, by him; that he should have the power of the militia by sea and land; that, in the intervals of parliament, the nation should be governed by the Protector and his council, who were not to exceed the number of one and twenty, nor to be under thirteen. The first persons nominated to be of his council, were, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Col. Desborough, Mr. Henry Lawrence, Sir Charles Wolfely, Col. William Sydenham,

denham, Mr. Francis Rouse, Philip Visc. Lisle, Col. Philip Jones, Col. Montague, Mr. Richard Major, Walter Strickland, Esq; Sir Gilbert Pickering, Maj.-Gen. Skippon, and Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper; in all fourteen. It was observed, that in the choice of this council, such were put in for the most part who had been principal instruments in the interruption of the late assembly, and leading men in the resignation of that power into the hands of Cromwel. And because nothing of honour or conscience could be presumed to oblige them to be faithful to Cromwel and his government, though they took an oath to that purpose, he, as a public robber, having possessed himself of the purse of the nation, distributed 1000 l. a-year to each of his council. He also established a commission for the viewing and taking care of all forests, fees, and lands belonging to the late King, Queen, and Prince, under pretence of improving them to the advantage of the commonwealth; but indeed in order to convert them to his own profit. The management of the treasury was put into the hands of Col. Desborough, Montague, and Sydenham, who were his creatures: to whom was added Mr. William Masham, a worthy Gentleman, and a member of parliament, placed there by Cromwel, upon information that he had divers relations of considerable interest in the clergy-party, together with a numerous family, and small estate during his father's life; which considerations prevailed with the said Gentleman to accept of that employment.

Things being thus prepared, the Mayor and Aldermen of London were required to attend at Whitehall in their scarlet gowns; whither when

D 2

they

they came, the design was imparted to them; and they, being under the power of an army, were forced to contribute to this pageantry, by accompanying Cromwel to Westminster-hall. The Commissioners of the Seal, the Judges, and Barons of the Exchequer, marched first, the council of the commonwealth following them; and then the Mayor, Sheriffs, and the Aldermen of London, in their robes. After them came the General with a great number of the officers of the army, Maj.-Gen. Lambert carrying the sword before him into the court of chancery; where, after the General had heard the instrument of government read, and taken the oath as directed in the close of the said instrument, Maj.-Gen. Lambert kneeling, presented him with a sword in the scabbard, representing the civil sword; which Cromwel accepting, put off his own; intimating thereby, that he would no longer rule by the military sword, though like a false hypocrite he designed nothing more. The commissioners delivered the seals to him, and the Mayor of London the sword; all which he restored again, with an exhortation to use them well; and having assured them that he would not have undertaken this charge, but to make use of it for the good of the public, he returned to Whitehall in the same manner and order as he came. His council having taken their places, issued out orders to all counties and considerable corporations for the proclaiming Oliver Cromwel Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and care was taken to alter all legal writs and process from the title of the *Keepers of the Liberties of England*, to that of *Protector*. A declaration also was published,

blished, impowering all those who stood lawfully invested with any office of judicature, or with the power of the admiralty, on the 20th of the present December, to continue in their employments till farther order.

The news of this great alteration of affairs was very unwelcome to us in Ireland; because contrary to the oaths which had been taken; and especially to the engagement, whereby all that took it, promised fidelity to the commonwealth of England, as it was established without a King or house of Lords: which engagement having subscribed both with hand and heart, I was resolved to use my best endeavours, either to oppose this usurpation, or at least not to do any thing that might contribute to the strengthening of it. To this end, when it was pressed by some court-parasites amongst us, that seeing things were brought to this pass, and that there was now no other face of authority in being; therefore to prevent the designs of our enemies, the commissioners of parliament should proclaim Cromwel Protector in Dublin, and other parts of Ireland; I objected against it, as a thing evil in itself, tending to the betraying of our cause, and contrary to an act of parliament; that if it were but dubious whether it were evil or no, we ought at least to expect an order from those who had the power in their hands, which as yet we had not received. By this means I hindered the proclaiming of him in Ireland for more than a fortnight, though continually earnestly pressed to a compliance. But a day being appointed for the consideration of that affair, the commissioners, with three or four chief officers, of whose integrity and abilities we had the best  
D 3 opinion,

opinion, met in Lt-Gen. Fleetwood's chamber in the castle; where, after near five hours debate, and the question put, the votes were found to be equal on both sides. In that instant of time Mr. Roberts the Auditor-General coming thither upon some particular business of the army, Lt-Gen. Fleetwood being well acquainted with his flattering spirit, and earnestly desiring to have the thing done, gave him liberty to declare his opinion; which when he had done in the affirmative, the Lieutenant-General took his concurrence (he being a general officer) to be a decision of the controversy. So it was resolved to be done; and an order directed to be drawn up for that purpose, which the commissioners endeavoured to persuade me to sign; but I positively refusing so to do, they ordered it to be signed by their Secretary in the name of the commission: which way was taken, that it might not appear that any of the commissioners hands were wanting to the proclamation. At this ceremony there was but a thin appearance, some Captains and inferior officers; but no Colonel nor general officer, except Sir Hardress Waller and one Col. Moore, were present. The herald at arms, who made proclamation, was clothed in black: but the artillery, which was at the command of Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, wasted some of the powder belonging to the public; the report of which was very unwelcome music to me, who, desiring to be as far from this pageantry as I could, rode out of town that afternoon.

Having done what I could to obstruct the proclamation of that which was called an instrument of government, imposed upon the people by the military sword, contrary to many oaths  
and



and solemn engagements, as well as to the interest and expectations of the people, I thought myself obliged in duty to act no further in my civil capacity as commissioner of parliament, lest I should seem, by acting with them, to acknowledge this as a lawful authority. To that end, I forbore to go to Cork-house, which was the usual place where the commissioners of parliament met. But Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, by great importunity, did once prevail with me to be present there, and to give my advice in some things that absolutely concerned the peace of Ireland; after which time I never gave any vote amongst them, or set my hand to any of their orders, though pressed to do it by divers honest and well-meaning men. But because I was always ready to call in question my own judgment, when different from knowing and conscientious persons, I consented that a day might be appointed to consult with them touching my duty in this conjuncture. The most weighty arguments which were then used to persuade me to continue in my employments, were, That supposing Cromwel to be a tyrant, to have no just call to his present employment, and a wicked man, as most of them were so ingenuous to acknowledge him to be; yet they declared themselves to be of opinion, that a good man might act under him; and for proof of this, they urged the example of Cornelius, who was a centurion under Nero. To this I answered, That though, in an evil government already established, an honest man may take an employment, and bless God for such an opportunity of doing good; yet our case seemed to me to be very different, the dispute lying now between tyranny and liberty; and

and that I durst not in any measure contribute to the support of tyranny against the liberty of my country. Another argument much pressed, was, That, by declining my station, I should neglect an occasion of doing some good, and lay a necessity upon those in power to employ others, who might do mischief. To this I replied, That it was not-lawful to do the least evil for the attaining the greatest good; and that I apprehended it to be an evil thing to fortify Cromwel in his usurpation; that I hoped I should do more good by my open protestation against his injustice, and declining to act under him, than by the contrary means: for should all men who continued well affected to the interest of the commonwealth, refuse to act in the present state of affairs, there could be no way thought of, in my opinion, more probable to reduce the usurper to his right senses; who not daring to trust such as had acted against him, must of necessity by this means be left destitute of instruments to carry on his unjust designs. A third argument was, That I should wait to see how he would use his power; which if he improved to evil ends, I should then find many others to join with, who would be as ready to oppose him as myself. To this also I answered, That I was fully convinced of the injustice of his undertaking; that he had betrayed his masters, under colour that they would not reform the law and the clergy; and that having called an assembly, in order, as he pretended, to accomplish that work, he had now broken them also for endeavouring to do it; that as soon as he had made the corrupt interests of the nation sensible of their danger, he had contracted an alliance

alliance with them, and was become their protector; that it could not be reasonably expected that he should do any thing towards their reformation; because every step he should take towards the lessening of their credit, would tend to the weakening of his own authority; and that he was no less necessitated to be a vassal to them, than he designed the rest of the nation to be slaves to him. Though for these and other reasons I durst not act in my civil capacity, yet I was unwilling to decline the exercise of my military authority as Lieutenant-General of the Horse, having received my commission from the parliament; which I resolved to keep, till it should be forced from me, and to act by it in order to attain those ends for which I received it; the principal whereof were, to bring those to justice who had been guilty of the blood of many thousands of English Protestants, and to restore the English who remained alive, to the lands which had been taken from them by the Irish. And though much of this work was already effected; yet it was no less a duty to bring it to perfection than to begin it, and to defend our countrymen in a just possession, than to gain it for them. Neither was it impossible that as one had made use of the military sword to destroy the civil authority; so others might have an opportunity to restore it by the same means.

One of the first important affairs of Cromwell's new government was, to make peace with the Dutch; which the low condition they had been brought into by the good conduct of the parliament made them earnestly to desire. In the articles, some seeming provision was made for bringing those to justice who had been guilty of

of the blood of the English at Amboyna, if they could be found. The Dutch also undertook to reimburse to our merchants the losses they sustained by the seizure of twenty two ships in Denmark; the duty of striking the flag to the English in the narrow seas was acknowledged, and compliance promised with the act of parliament; whereby all foreign commodities were forbidden to be brought into England save in English bottoms, except by such vessels as properly belonged to that country where those commodities should grow. By another article it was agreed, that the enemies of the respective nations should not be protected by either of them. But there was no provision made by this treaty for the coalescence so much insisted upon during the administration of affairs by the parliament.

The Lord Whitlock, who had been sent Ambassador to the crown of Sweden by the parliament, acquainted the Queen with the late change of government, producing letters of credence from Cromwel, and owning him as his master; upon which he was received as kindly as formerly by the Queen, who signed the articles agreed upon by the two nations, to the great satisfaction of both.

Cromwel having thus all clear before him, and no enemy in the field, except only in the highlands of Scotland, a considerable army by land, and a powerful fleet at sea, all the soldiers fully paid, with a month's advance; the stores sufficiently supplied with all provisions for sea and land, 300,000 l. of ready money in England, and 150,000 l. in the treasury of Ireland; he removed from the Cock-pit, which house the parliament had assigned him, to take possession  
of

of Whitehall, which he assigned to himself. His wife seemed at first unwilling to remove thither, though afterwards she became better satisfied with her grandeur. But his mother, who, by reason of her great age, was not so easily flattered with these temptations, very much mistrusted the issue of affairs; and would be often afraid, when she heard the noise of a musket, that her son was shot; being exceedingly dissatisfied unless she might see him once a-day at least. But she shortly after dying, left him the possession of what she held in jointure, which was reported not to exceed 60*l.* by year; though he, out of the public purse, expended much more at her interment; and, amongst other needless ceremonies, caused many hundred torches to be carried with the hearse, though she was buried by day-light.

The usurper, endeavouring to fix himself in his throne by all ways imaginable, gave direction to the judges, who were ready to go their several circuits, to take especial care to extend all favour and kindness to the cavalier-party. He himself restored Col. Grace, a notorious Irish rebel, to his estate; and sent a letter in favour of the Lord Fitzwilliams, who had been Lieutenant-General in Preston's army in Ireland. But he dealt otherwise with those whom formerly he had most courted; summoning Maj.-Gen. Harrison, Col. Rich, Mr. Carew, and others, before the council; requiring such of them as had commissions from him to surrender them; upbraiding Maj.-Gen. Harrison with his carriage to him, and charging him with coveting his employment when he was sick in Scotland. And because they refused to engage not to act  
against

against him and his government, he sent them to several prisons. Maj.-Gen. Harrison was ordered to be carried to Carisbrook castle in the Isle of Wight, Mr. Carew was sent to Pendennis in Cornwall, and Col. Rich confined to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms. Soon after, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Feak, and Mr. Simson, Ministers, having publicly declared against his usurpation, both by printing and preaching, were also imprisoned. So, having changed his interest, and taken off his mask, he sent his second son, Col. Henry Cromwel, into Ireland, to feel the pulse of the officers there touching his coming over to command in that nation; where he arrived, attended only by one servant; and landing near my country-house, I sent my coach to receive him, and to bring him thither; where he staid, till Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, with several officers, came with coaches to conduct him to Dublin. Having made what observations he could of persons and things in Ireland, he resolved upon his return: of which having given me advice, I desired him to take my house in his way; and, to that end, dined with him on the day of his departure at the Lieutenant-General's in the castle. After dinner, we went together to my house at Monckton, where, after a short collation, walking in the garden, I acquainted him with the grounds of my dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs in England; which I assured him was in no sort personal, but would be the same were my own father alive, and in the place of his. He told me, that his father looked upon me to be dissatisfied upon a distinct account from most men in the three nations; and thereupon affirmed, that he knew it to be his resolution to carry

carry himself with all tenderness towards me. I told him, that I ought to have so much charity for his father, to believe, that he apprehended his late undertaking to have been absolutely necessary; being well assured, that he was not so weak a man to decline his former station, wherein his power was as great, and his wealth as much, as any rational man could wish, to procure to himself nothing but envy and trouble. I supposed he would have agreed with me in these sentiments. But he, instead of that, acknowledged the ambition of his father in these words: "You that are here may think he had power, but they made a very kickshaw of him at London." I replied, That if it were so, they did ill; for he had deserved much from them. Then I proceeded to acquaint him with my resolution not to act in my civil employment, and my expectation not to be permitted to continue in my military command. To which he answered, That he was confident I should receive no interruption therein. I told him, I could not foresee what his father would do; but inclined to think, that no other man in his case would permit it. To this I added, That the reason of my drawing a sword in this war, was to remove those obstructions that the civil magistrate met with in the discharge of his duty; which being now accomplished, I could not but think that all things ought for the future to run in their proper and genuine channel. For as the extraordinary remedy is not to be used, till the ordinary fail to work its proper effect; so ought it to be continued no longer than the necessity of using it subsists: whereas this that they called a government, had no other means

to preserve itself, but such as were violent ; which not being natural, could not be lasting. “ Would you then (said he) have the sword laid down? I cannot but think you believe it to be as much your interest to have it kept up as any man.” I confessed I had been of that opinion, whilst I was persuaded there was a necessity of it; which seeming to me to be now over, I accounted it to be much more my interest to see it well laid down; there being a vast difference between using the sword to restore the people to their rights and privileges, and the keeping it up for the robbing and despoiling them of the same. But company coming in, and the time for his going on board approaching, we could not be permitted to continue our discourse: so, after we had taken leave of each other, he departed from Ireland; and, upon his arrival at Chester, was attended by many of the late King’s party; and, amongst others, by Col. Molson; who inquiring of him how he left affairs in Ireland, he answered, Very well; only that some who were in love with their power, must be removed.

In the mean time, Cromwel so ordered matters at London, that he procured himself, his officers, and council, to be invited by the city to dinner; which was managed with all possible state. He and the rest of his company rode on horseback through the city. The Mayor and Aldermen met him at Temple-Bar; where the Mayor, as an acknowledgment of his authority, delivered the sword to him, and he (as Kings use to do) restored it to him again. He was harangued by the Recorder; and the Mayor, riding bareheaded, carried the sword before him, the



the several liveries in their gowns standing on each side of the streets where he passed. Commissary-General Reynolds and Col. Whalley led a troop of 300 officers to Grocers-hall, being the place appointed for the entertainment. Which being ended, he bestowed a badge of his usurpation in conferring a knighthood upon Alderman Thomas Viner, then Mayor of London. This was principally contrived, to let the world understand how good a correspondence there was between him and the city of London: yet, amongst discerning men, it had a contrary effect, who knew it to be rather an act of force than of choice in the city; as appeared in the great silence and little respect that was given him in his passage through the streets. And though he, to invite them to it, rode bareheaded the greatest part of the way, and though some of his creatures had placed themselves at the entrance of Cheapside, and began to shout, yet it took not at all with the people.

About this time, Cromwel, having resolved upon a foreign expedition, drew out 5 or 6000 men; by which artifice, he not only alarmed foreign states, but also engaged all the reformed officers to his party, who otherwise would have been ready to join with any party against him. Col. Venables was chosen to command this army; and though the particular design of these preparations was not certainly known, yet it was soon suspected to be against some of the King of Spain's territories. Vice-Adm. Penn commanded the fleet that was to transport them, which consisted of sixteen or seventeen men of war, besides the vessels of transportation. When they arrived at Barbadoes, they made proclamation.

mation there, that whosoever would engage in the undertaking, should have his freedom; whereupon about 2000 servants lifted themselves, to the great damage of the planters. The Spanish Ambassador being informed, that the fleet was gone towards the West-Indies, and that the storm was likely to fall upon some of his master's territories, made application to Cromwel, to know whether he had any just ground of complaint against the King his master; and if so, that he was ready to give him all possible satisfaction. Cromwel demanded a liberty to trade to the Spanish West-Indies, and the repeal of the laws of the inquisition. To which the Ambassador replied, That his master had but two eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once. The goods of our merchants trading in Spain were seized for want of timely notice to withdraw their effects from thence. And one Maj. Walters, with others concerned with him in the transportation of Irish soldiers into the Spanish service, lost 30,000 l. which remained due to them from the King of Spain.

The fleet being arrived at Hispaniola, whether through any difference between Col. Venables, who commanded the army, and Vice-Adm. Penn, who commanded the fleet, or for what other reason, is not easy to determine, they neglected to land their army near the town, as was advised by many of the officers, and as they might easily have done, with great probability of taking the town, which most of the inhabitants had deserted. But the army having landed far from the town, were upon their march towards it, when the forlorn was attacked,

ed, at the entrance of a wood, by forty or fifty fellows, who were employed to kill the wild cows of that country. This inconsiderable number of men put the forlorn to flight; and they retreating in great disorder, struck the whole army with such a panic fear, that they began to shift for themselves; and could not be prevailed with, either by promises or threatenings, to keep their ground. Which being observed by Maj.-Gen. Haines, and five or six officers more, they resolved either to put a stop to the pursuit of the enemy, or not to outlive the disgrace. Thereupon they made a stand, and fought them, till the Major-General and most of the rest were killed. During this time our forces rallied, yet could not recover courage enough to charge that inconsiderable enemy. And those very men, who, when they fought for the liberties of their country, had performed wonders, having now engaged to support the late erected tyranny, disgracefully fled when there was none to pursue them. The expedition against Hispaniola proving unsuccessful, they shipped themselves, and soon after arrived at the island of Jamaica, belonging also to the Spaniards; which being but meanly fortified, the inhabitants, who lived for the most part together in the principal town, ran away, and betook themselves to the woods, leaving what they could not carry away to be plundered by the army. Col. Venables being disabled by sickness to perform the functions of his office, was permitted by the council of officers to return into England; and Vice-Adm. Penn, suspecting he would lay the whole blame of that affair on him, obtained leave also. And being both arrived, they were heard at Whitehall one

against the other ; where the accusations of both seemed to be of more weight than the defences of either of them. So Penn was committed to the Tower, and Col. Venables confined to his lodging, the distemper that was upon him excusing him from a stricter imprisonment.

According to the promise contained in the instrument of government, it was resolved to issue out writs for the election of members to serve in an assembly at Westminster ; who were to be chosen not by small boroughs, and two for each county, as formerly, but in such manner as had been agreed upon by the parliament in the rule for chusing successive representatives, which indeed was much more equal and just. And because it was provided by the same instrument, that thirty members should be sent by Ireland, and the same number by Scotland, to sit in the house, letters were sent by Cromwel and his council to the commissioners there, acquainting them with that clause in the instrument of government, and desiring their advice touching the ensuing election. Some of the commissioners in Ireland were of opinion, that, if the proprietors should chuse, they would return such as were enemies to the English interest ; and therefore proposed, that for this time Cromwel and his council should nominate the thirty who were to be chosen for that nation. This question coming before the commissioners before the arrival of the new set nominated by Cromwel, though I resolved to intermeddle as little as might be, yet this advice seemed so strange to me, that I could not forbear to desire of them, that seeing we had no more of liberty left but the name, they would at least retain the form, in hopes that in time men might become so sensible of their

their own interest, as to be enabled thereby to recover the efficacy and substance of it, especially since it was most probable, that, by the influence of those in power, the same persons would be chosen that they desired. To this they agreed; and having proportioned the cities and counties for the election before the issuing out the writs, a private junto was held by Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, who agreed upon the persons that they would have chosen for each place; which they had a great advantage to effect, having nominated and fitted the Sheriffs and other officers for that purpose. The court-party endeavoured to promote the election of such as would center in adoring the idol lately set up, however different in opinions about other matters. The clergy in some parts proved so strong, that they carried it against those agreed on by the court; but both parties concurred in the decrying all such who would not sacrifice the cause of the public to the ambition of men. In England they better understood the design that was carrying on; insomuch that many persons of known virtue and integrity were chosen to sit in this assembly; in particular, the Lord President Bradshaw, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Robert Wallop, and divers others. When the time appointed for the meeting of this assembly was come, Cromwel went in a coach to Westminster, accompanied by his horse and foot guard, with many officers of the army on foot; where being arrived, his first business was to appear in his Kingly garb at the Abbey, there to hear a sermon with the members of that assembly, before they went about their other affairs. Which done, he went into the Painted chamber,

ber, where he entertained the members with a tedious speech ; wherein he endeavoured to make it appear, that things were brought to this pass, not by his contrivance, but by the over-ruling hand of God ; assuring them, that he was much rejoiced to see so free an assembly of the people met together, and that he resolved to submit himself to their judgment. But, notwithstanding these specious pretences, he caused the Lord Grey of Grooby, Mr. John Wildman, Mr. Highland, and others, who had always manifested a constant affection to the commonwealth, to be excluded from the house. And though many undue methods had been used at the elections to procure those to be chosen who were enemies, and to keep out many who were known friends to the common cause ; and though they saw themselves under the power of one who they knew would force his way to the throne ; yet they appeared in a few days not to be for his purpose, but resolved, at the least, to lay a claim to their liberties. For whereas the court-party would have obliged them to approve at once the whole instrument of government which they had framed, the assembly took it in pieces, and referred the consideration of it to a committee ; where the first question fallen upon was, “ Whether the supreme legislative power of the nation shall be in a single person and the parliament ? ” In this debate Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Scot, and many others, especially the Lord President Bradshaw, were very instrumental in opening the eyes of many young members who had never before heard their interest so clearly stated and asserted ; so that the commonwealth-party increased daily, and that of the sword lost ground.

ground. Cromwel being informed of these transactions by his creatures, and fearing to have that great question put; lest he should be deposed, by a vote of this assembly, from the throne which he had usurped, caused a guard to be set upon the door of the house early in the morning, and sent to the Mayor of London to acquaint him with the reasons of what he was about to do, to the end that he might prevent any disorders in the city. The members coming at the usual hour, were refused the door, and required to attend him in the Painted chamber; where he taking notice of what was under debate in the house, contrary to the privilege of a parliament, (as he would have this thought to be), told them; that being called by virtue of the instrument of government to that assembly, they were bound up by the indentures themselves, upon which they were returned, from altering the government by a single person and a parliament; and that the country having owned him by electing a parliament called by his writ, and that the Judges, with the Justices of Peace, having acted by virtue of his authority, he was resolved not to permit that point to be called in question; acquainting them, that no person should be admitted, for the time to come, to sit as a member in that assembly, till he had subscribed an acknowledgment of the government by a single person and a parliament. Some of those who had been chosen members of this convention, had already declined the house, upon account that Cromwel and his council had excluded from their places divers persons who had been constantly faithful to the public interest. But so soon as this visible hand of violence appeared to be

be upon them, most of the eminent asserters of the liberty of their country withdrew themselves; being persuaded they should better discharge their duty to the nation by this way of expressing their abhorrence of his tyrannical proceedings, than by surrendering their liberties under their own hands, and then treating with him who was possessed of the sword, to recover some part of them again. However, this engagement was signed by about 130 members within a day or two; and some days after, several others subscribed it, and took their places in the house; where a debate arising touching the said recognition, they passed a declaration, that it should not be intended to comprehend the whole government contained in the forty two articles of the instrument, but that only which required the government of the commonwealth to be by a single person and successive parliaments. And to this the major part consented; hoping, that, by their compliance with him, in making provision for his safety, and the government of the nation during his life, he would have been satisfied therewith, and, in gratitude, would have judged the people after his death to be of age and wisdom sufficient to chuse a government for themselves. This great point touching the single person being thus over-ruled, they applied themselves to the consideration and debate of the remaining clauses of the instrument of government. They declared, that he should be Protector during his life; and limited the number of forces to be kept up in England, Scotland, and Ireland, with provision for the payment of them. They agreed upon the number of ships that they thought necessary for the guard of the seas;



Heas ; and ordered 200,000 l. a-year for his own expence, the salaries of his council, the judges, foreign intelligence, and the reception of ambassadors. They also voted a clause to be inserted, to declare the rights of the people of England, and particularly that no money should be raised upon the nation but by authority of parliament. And whereas by the instrument of government it was provided, that if the parliament were not sitting at the death of the present Protector, the council of officers should chuse a successor ; they resolved, That nothing should be determined by the council after his death, but the calling of a parliament, who were then to consider what they would have done. Besides these things, I can remember no remarkable variation from what was formerly set down in the paper called *the instrument of government*, except this additional vote, " That no one clause " of this should be looked upon as binding, unless the whole were consented unto : " which they did, lest Cromwel should interrupt them, and taking what made for his own advancement, reject what was advantageous to the commonwealth. Much time was spent, and pains taken, to effect this within the time limited ; so that hardly any private business was done all that time, except an order given to the excise-office for satisfying an old debt pretended by Col. John Birch, one of their members, a nimble Gentleman, and one who used to neglect no opportunity of providing for himself.

The usurper, that he might make way for his posterity to succeed him in his greatness, changed the title of Lt-Gen. Fleetwood from that of *Commander in Chief*, to that of *Deputy of Ireland*,

land, to continue till such time as it should be thought fit to recal him from thence, and to establish his son Harry in his place. In order to this, a commission was sent to Fleetwood from Cromwel, wherein those who were before called *Commissioners*, are now styled only his *Counsellors*. Having thus modelled the government of Ireland, he began to apply his care to that of Scotland; and knowing Monk to be a soldier, and faithful enough to him, as long as he would gratify his vitious, covetous, and ambitious inclinations, he intrusted him with the command of the forces, and made him one of the commissioners for civil affairs in that nation. But that he might balance him with some of another temper, who might be a guard upon his actions, he sent Col. Adrian Scroop to be one of the commissioners there also; having first caused the castle of Bristol, whereof he was Governor, to be slighted, not daring to trust a person of so much honour and worth with a place of that importance. He likewise sent thither Col. Whetham with the same character; who having been one of the late assembly, as well as Governor of Portsmouth, and understanding that a design was on foot to make Cromwel King, had in the house applied to him the saying of the Prophet to Ahab, *Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?* By which words, it appearing that this Gentleman was not for Oliver's turn, he removed him from Portsmouth, and sent him to Scotland, to be one of the commissioners there also. The Lord Broghill was made President of the council in Scotland, with an allowance of 2000 l. a-year; with a promise from him, who never kept any but such as suited with his corrupt

rupt ends, that his service should be dispensed with after one year, and yet his salary to continue.

In Holland, the party of the Prince of Orange having long obstructed the signing of the articles agreed upon between that state and Cromwel, the States-General sent Mynheer Beverning Ambassador into England, to assure Cromwel, that if the provinces did not agree to the articles within eight days, he had power from the States-General to sign them in their names. But before this peace was concluded, the King of Scots party had obtained succours to be sent to their friends in Scotland, who were augmented to the number of about 5000 horse and foot, having received 1500 foot, 200 horse, and great numbers of arms brought to them by seventeen Holland ships: so that it was thought fit to take Lt-Gen. Monk from the fleet, the war at sea being now over, and to send him to take care of affairs in Scotland; but chiefly to keep the officers there from drawing to a head against Cromwel's usurpation. Lt-Gen. Middleton, with about 100 men more, for the most part officers, 500 arms, and 150 barrels of powder, landed also in the north of Scotland. To oppose these forces, we sent 1500 men from Ireland under Lt-Col. Braine, into the mountains of Scotland; who contributed very much to the suppression of them.

Monk being arrived in Scotland, divided his army into several bodies, the two principal of which were commanded by himself and Col. Morgan. With these they pursued the enemy so closely, that at a council of war held by them in the county of Murray, they made a resolution to disperse themselves upon every alarm, and

to meet again at a rendezvous to be agreed upon. This being resolved, they advanced towards the quarters of Col. Braine; where they were warmly received, and forced to retire. Middleton, to avoid the pursuit of ours, dispersed his foot into inaccessible quarters, and drew together about 600 horse at Kennagh; whereby Monk perceiving that his design was to tire out our forces, declined following him so close, endeavouring to drive him upon Col. Morgan, whom Monk had informed of the enemy's march. Middleton seeing himself no farther pursued, staid at Kennagh. Whereupon Monk having received advice of the approach of Col. Morgan's party, advanced with his forces towards the enemy, who retiring towards Badenorth, and being about to take their quarters that night at Lochgary, found themselves engaged at a narrow pass by Col. Morgan, who designed to quarter at the same place. Middleton endeavouring to retire, was obstructed by a morass; and being hotly pursued by Col. Morgan's forces, and much harrassed by difficult marches, was soon routed, many of his men were killed, and many taken prisoners; 400 of their horse were taken, together with the charging and sumpter horses of Middleton himself; who being wounded in the action, saved himself with much difficulty on foot. His commission, instructions, and divers letters written to him and his friends by their King, were taken also. And had not such as fled been favoured by the bad ways and the night, very few had escaped. The news of this defeat coming to the enemy's foot, who were in number about 1200, they immediately disbanded themselves; and divers of the enemy's principal

cial officers came in and submitted; and amongst them the Earl of Glencairn, Lt-Col. Maxwell, Lt-Col. Herriot, the Lord Forrester, and Sir George Monro. Yet, notwithstanding this low condition of that party in Scotland, the clergy refused to observe such fasts as were appointed by the government in England, and instead of them, appointed others by their own authority; wherein they exhorted the people, amongst other things, to seek the Lord, to preserve the ministry among them, to forget the offences of the house of the Stuarts, and to turn from his people the sad effects of a late eclipse.

A fleet commanded by Gen. Blake was sent into the Mediterranean, to require satisfaction from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, for injuries done to our merchants, and for entertaining and harbouring Prince Rupert's fleet. In which expedition he not only procured the satisfaction demanded, but rendered the power of England so formidable, not only to all Italy, but even to the Grand Signior himself, that they expressed a greater readiness to preserve the friendship of the English than ever they had done before.

In the mean time, Cromwel having assumed the whole power of the nation to himself, and sent ambassadors and agents to foreign states, was courted again by them, and presented with the rarities of several countries. Amongst the rest, the Duke of Holstein made him a present of a set of gray Frizeland coach-horses; with which taking the air in the park, attended only with his Secretary Thurlow, and guard of janisaries, he would needs take the place of the coachman, not doubting but the three pair of horses he was about to drive would prove as tame as the three

nations which were ridden by him: and therefore not contented with their ordinary pace, he lashed them very furiously. But they unaccustomed to such a rough driver, ran away in a rage, and stopped not till they had thrown him out of the box; with which fall his pistol fired in his pocket, though without any hurt to himself: by which he might have been instructed how dangerous it was to intermeddle with those things wherein he had no experience.

The representative sitting at Westminster, though garbled as he thought fit, proving not sufficiently inclined to serve his designs, but rather in prudence yielding to the strength of the present stream, in hopes the people might in time recover their oars, and make use of them for the public good; he grew impatient till the five months allowed for their sitting should be expired; during which time he was restrained by that which he called *the instrument of government*, from giving them interruption. And though they differed not in any material point from that form of government which he himself had set up, unless it were in reserving the nomination of his successor to the parliament; yet did the omission of this one thing so enrage him, that he resolved upon their dissolution. They had prepared all things to offer to him, and had been very cautious of giving him any just occasion of offence; well knowing, that in case they had given him the least pretence of dissatisfaction, he would have laid all the blame at their door; and therefore they prudently left the settling of the church-government, and the liberty that was to be extended to tender consciences; (an engine by which Cromwel did most of his work),

work), to the consideration of the next assembly. Whereupon he wanting wherewith justly to accuse them, unless it were for too much complying with him to the prejudice of the commonwealth, after he had perused the form of government which the assembly had agreed upon, and tendered to him for his consideration; the five months of their sessions, according to the soldiers account of twenty eight days to the month, being expired, they were ordered to attend him on the 23d of January 1654, in the Painted chamber; where he made up with words and passion what he wanted of matter to charge them with; accusing them of endeavouring to bring all things into disorder and confusion, by raking into the particulars of the instrument of government, which he extolled very highly. He charged them with neglecting to make provision for the army, and necessitating them thereby to take free quarter, to the great dissatisfaction of the country, if it had not been prevented by the care, and at the expence of the officers. In this and in many other particulars he very much preferred the wisdom and prudence of the long parliament; which was the part he proposed now to act, having determined to cry down this. And because he could not accuse them of any practices against liberty of conscience, he charged them with their principles, and imputed to them all those discontents and designs which were on foot by several parties against the present government; affirming, that if they had not their rise from some that sat among them, (which he thought he should make appear), yet they grew like shrubs under their shadow. And that he might obviate that ob-

jection, which his own conscience told him was the true reason of his dissatisfaction with what had been agreed on in this assembly, he told them, that their not settling the government on him and his heirs, was not the reason why he refused to consent to what they presented to him.

“ For, said he, so fully am I convinced (in the  
 “ judgment I now am) of the injustice of here-  
 “ ditary government, that if you had offered  
 “ me the whole instrument of government with  
 “ that one alteration in favour of my family, I  
 “ should have refused the whole for the sake  
 “ of that; and I do not know, though you have  
 “ begun with an unworthy person, but here-  
 “ after the same method may be observed in the  
 “ choice of magistrates, as was amongst the  
 “ children of Israel, who appointed those that  
 “ had been most eminent in delivering them  
 “ from their enemies abroad to govern them at  
 “ home.” In which excuse three things seem  
 remarkable. First, that though, in the judgment  
 he then was, hereditary government was un-  
 just, yet he reserved a liberty to alter his opi-  
 nion, if he should find persons and things in-  
 clining that way. Secondly, in declaring this to  
 be his present opinion, he flattered the ambition  
 of Maj.-Gen. Lambert, and kept him in expe-  
 ctation of succeeding him, and so secured his as-  
 sistance in carrying on his wicked design. In  
 the third place, by designing that the General  
 should be always chosen Protector, it appears  
 that he would have had the nation to be perpe-  
 tually governed by the military sword. Thus  
 did this wise man (as he would be thought)  
 weaken his own interest, and lose the affections  
 of the people. For as, by his interruption of the  
 long



long parliament, he disoblighd the most sober part of the nation; so, by the dissolution of this assembly, he opened the eyes of the rest, who had been hitherto made to believe that he was necessitated to that extraordinary action, because they would not do these good things for the nation which were expected from them. And by this reproachful dismissal of the convention, which consisted for the most part of men of moderate spirits, and who had gone, in the judgment of the most discerning men, but too far in compliance with him for the purchase of their present peace, he made a considerable part of those who had been friends to him, irreconcilable enemies; and sent the members into their respective countries to relate to their neighbours, and those that sent them, what an unreasonable creature they had found him.

Having dissolved the pretended representative called by his own authority, he began by bribes to corrupt others to his interest; and, to this end, ordered the arrears of Col. Hewson for his English service to be paid in ready money, and his Irish arrears to be satisfied out of forfeited lands in the county of Dublin, at the rate of the adventurers, in such places as he should chuse. He ordered 2000 l. to be paid out of the treasury to Mr. Weaver, in lieu of what the parliament had settled upon him out of the forfeited lands in Scotland; and 10,000 l. in ready money to Maj.-Gen. Lambert, in consideration of 1000 l. by year out of the said forfeited lands given to him by the parliament; not regarding how he lavished away the public treasure, so as he might procure such instruments as he thought would be subservient to his unjust designs.

By

By this time many began openly to discover their discontents; and particularly the friends of the Scots King; who though he saw clearly his game playing by this usurper through the divisions he made amongst those whose interest it was to be united in opposition to him; yet being impatient of delay, and not caring how many he sacrificed, so as he might with more expedition recover the exercise of his power, he sent over divers commissions for the raising of horse and foot; and prevailed with some young Gentlemen of little consideration and less experience to accept them, and to engage against a victorious army commanded by one who spared not the purse of the commonwealth to procure intelligence. By which means he caused a great number of arms that were provided for the execution of this design to be seized, and imprisoned divers persons concerned in it; wherein he made use of one Bailey, a Jesuit; who discovered his kinsman, one Mr. Bagnal, son to the Lady Ter-  
 ringham, together with his own brother Capt. Nicholas Bailey; accusing them both of accepting commissions for raising a regiment; which Mr. Bagnal, upon his examination, did not deny. But, notwithstanding this discovery, so confident were these young men of success, that they still carried on their plot, and appointed a day for the execution of it. Cromwel suspecting they might have some grounds for their confidence, dispatched Commissary-General Reynolds to Ireland, with orders to cause some forces to be embarked for England: and accordingly about 2000 foot and 300 horse were ordered to be sent over to his assistance; the foot to be commanded by Col. Sadler, and the horse by Maj. Bolton.

This

This party being drawn to the water-side, some of the private soldiers, whether from any scruple of conscience, or from an unwillingness to leave their wives, children, and plantations, in Ireland, I cannot say, refused to embark, though Lt-Gen. Fletwood, with several field-officers of the army, were present; alledging that they had lifted themselves to fight against the rebels of Ireland, and, in prosecution of that obligation, were ready to obey all commands; that they knew not against whom they should be drawn to engage in England, possibly against some of their best friends; and therefore desired to be excused from that service. The officers resolving to compel them by force to go aboard, called a court-martial upon the place; where they condemned one of the most active to death, and ordered one entire company to be cashiered. Both which orders were immediately put in execution, by breaking the company, and hanging the man upon the mast of one of the ships. At this execution, Col. Hewetson, who had been lately obliged in the matter of his arrears, as a mark of his gratitude, gave order that the poor man should be hanged higher than was at first designed.

The cavalier-plot was still on foot in England; and though divers of them were imprisoned, and many arms seized, yet it was still resolved to attempt something. To this end, a cart-load of arms was conveyed to the place of rendezvous agreed upon for the northern parts; where it was reported the contrivers of this design were to be headed by the Lord Wilmot. But receiving some alarm upon their first meeting, and fearing lest the regular forces should fall

fall upon them before they were sufficiently prepared for their defence, they dispersed themselves, and left their arms behind them. The only considerable party that appeared, were those at Salisbury; which they had an opportunity of doing, under colour of going to the assizes. They consisted of about 150 horse; and drew together in the night; and were ordered to seize the Judges there in circuit, the Sheriff of the county, and such other persons as they should suspect to be enemies to the design. Col. Wagstaff was said to be their commander; but Col. Penruddock, a Gentleman of that country, appeared most forward in giving out the necessary orders and directions. Capt. Hugh Grove, and Mr. Jones of Newton, with several other Gentlemen of those parts, were amongst them. They proclaimed Charles II. to be King of England, &c. seized the Judges; and, having taken away their commissions, set them at liberty. They carried the Sheriff Mr. Dove away with them to Dogtown; to which place they thought fit to retire, apprehending more danger at Salisbury, their forces not at all answering their first expectations. From thence they marched as far as Blandford in Dorsetshire; but so few joined them in their way, that at their arrival there they exceeded not the number of 200 horse. Most men looked upon them as flying, divers of their own party stealing from them as fast as others came to them; and those that staid with them, did so, rather to secure themselves, and obtain better conditions, than from any hopes of succeeding. What they did, served only to alarm the army; some troops of which pursued them into Devonshire; where they were fallen

fallen upon by Maj. Unton Crook, and defeated. Divers of them were taken prisoners, and amongst them Col. Penruddock, Mr. Jones, and Capt. Grove. Maj.-Gen. Wagstaff, Mr. Mompeyson, and several others, escaped, and went privately to their own habitations; but upon information given, that they were concerned in this plot, they were seized and secured in order to trial. The prisoners taken in the fight pretended articles for life from Maj. Crook, alledging that otherwise they would not have delivered themselves on so easy terms; but the Major absolutely denied any such thing. So that a commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued for their trial; and Mr. Attorney-General Prideaux was sent from London to prosecute them. The Chief Justice Rolls was nominated in the commission to be one of their judges: but he refused to act therein, on account that the prisoners had done a particular injury to him in seizing his person at their first rising; and therefore he thought himself unfit to give his judgment in their case, wherein he might be thought a party concerned. Some of them were condemned at Salisbury, and some at Exeter; of which number were Col. Penruddock and Capt. Grove. And, in aggravation of their crimes, it was urged, that this was their second offence of this kind; and that it was committed against much favour and kindness, not only in that they had been permitted to compound for their estates at a reasonable rate, when they had forfeited all; but also that an act of oblivion had been granted to them and their whole party, whereby they were put into a condition of enjoying the advantages of all the victories of those to whom they had

had been enemies. To this they answered, That they did not rise against those who had extended that favour to them, but against a person who had dissipated those men, and established himself in their place. And I cannot tell by what laws of God or man they could have been justly condemned, had they been upon as sure a foundation in what they declared for, as they were in what they declared against. But certainly it can never be esteemed by a wise man to be worth the scratch of a finger, to remove a single person acting by an arbitrary power, in order to set up another with the same unlimited authority. Col. Penruddock and Capt. Grove were executed by beheading, according to the sentence pronounced against them; but Mr. Jones of Newton-Tony being allied to Cromwel, was pardoned, after he had been found guilty by the jury; and Maj. Crook was ordered to have 200 l. by year out of Mr. Mompeyson's estate, for his good service in the suppression of this party.

The usurper was not a little startled at this insurrection, suspecting that so small a number would not have appeared without more considerable encouragement; and therefore, though he had lately so meanly stooped to court the cavalier-party, and thereby highly provoked his ancient friends to a just jealousy and indignation, he resolved now to fall upon them, and to break through all their compositions, even the act of oblivion itself, in the obtaining and passing of which he had so great a hand. To this end, he commanded a tenth part of their estates to be levied, in order, as he pretended, to maintain those extraordinary forces which  
their

their turbulent and seditious practices obliged him to keep up. In defence of which oppression I could never yet hear one argument offered that carried any weight, either with respect to justice or policy. For having by his treachery and usurpation disobliged those with whom he first engaged, he seemed to have no other way left to support himself, but by balancing his new with his old enemies; whom, by this fresh act of injustice, he rendered desperate and irreconcilable, they being not able to call any thing their own; whilst, by the same rule that he seized one tenth, he might also take away the other nine parts at his pleasure. And, to put this detestable project in execution, he divided England into cantons; over each of which he placed a Bashaw, under the title of Major-General, who was to have the inspection and government of inferior commissioners in every county; with orders to seize the persons, and distrain the estates of such as should be refractory, and to put in execution such further directions as they should receive from him.

In the army there were not wanting some that still retained an affection to the cause of their country; which appeared more particularly in a petition to Cromwel, signed by many of them, containing things so suitable to the desires of honest men, that it proved on that account very unwelcome to the usurper. Amongst others, Col. Okey endeavoured to persuade the officers of his regiment to stand by him in the prosecution of the ends of it; but was interrupted in that design by his Major, for whom he had not without difficulty obtained that employment. It was also pretended, that Maj.-Gen.

Overton, with some officers of the army in Scotland, designed to seize upon Monk, and to march with that army to London for the restitution of the parliament. Upon suspicion of which he was seized, and sent prisoner to London, where he was committed to the Tower.

About 300 of the petitions aforesaid, together with another writing called *the memento*, were sent into Ireland in a box directed to me, and accompanied with a short letter without any subscription. Which papers when I had perused, and found them to contain such truths as were very proper to prepare the minds of men to embrace the first opportunity of rescuing themselves from the present oppression, I thought it my duty to procure them to be dispersed as much to the advantage of the public as I could. Wherein I was particularly assisted by Capt. Walcot, one of the faithful officers of my regiment, and divers others of my friends. I acquainted Lt-Col. Brayfield with my design; and sent some of the papers to Maj. Davis, who was then at Dublin, but resided usually in Connaught; thinking him to be a proper person to be employed to disperse them in that province. The said Maj. Davis, having received the papers, came to me, and desired to know if they came from me. I answered him, That though I wished my name might have been concealed, yet that question being put to me, I durst not deny it: and having further informed him of the reasons which moved me so to do, he declared himself to be fully satisfied with them. But it afterwards appeared, that, upon the first receipt of those papers, he had acquainted Mr. Roberts, the Auditor-General, therewith, presuming him to



to be well affected to the common cause; which proving otherwise, the said Roberts informed Lt-Gen. Fleetwood of what he knew. The Lieutenant-General having also had advice, that I had discoursed with Lt-Col. Brayfield in the castle-yard, and suspecting it might be upon the same business, sent for Maj. Davis and the said Lieutenant-Colonel to examine them; who confessed so much of the matter, as was a ground for him to dispatch a messenger to me, in order to inquire concerning the truth of it. The person employed was one Maj. Wallis; who, coming to my house at Monckton, informed me, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood had received information, that I had dispersed some of the late petitions and memento's. To which I answered, That seeing the thing which I desired to carry on privately was not concealed, I should not decline to affirm, that my conscience obliged me not to smother so much truth as those papers seemed to me to contain. He then told me, that the Lieutenant-General desired to speak with me about that matter; and I promised to attend him the next morning. Accordingly I went to him; and, after some conference concerning the papers, he produced an order from Cromwel and his council to this effect: "That  
" whereas I had declared myself dissatisfied  
" with the present government, he the said Lt-  
" Gen. Fleetwood was required to take care,  
" that my charge in the army might be managed  
" some other way." He added, that he had received the said order some months since, but would not communicate it to me till now; when, upon the distribution of these papers, he durst not conceal it any longer, lest he should be

accounted a confederate with me. I replied, That if my life, as well as my employment, had been at stake, I durst not have omitted what I thought to be my duty in this particular; that having no power to dispute their pleasure, I should at present look upon it as a law to which I must submit. Some time after, Mr. Benjamin Worsley was sent to acquaint me, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood had been in expectation of hearing from me touching my submission to the order he shewed me, either by letter, or the surrender of my commission. I answered, That I thought neither of them necessary; and hoped, that my retirement into my own country, which I suddenly designed, might be sufficient. But it was determined, that I should not so easily quit the public stage. For the next morning I was desired to attend the Lieutenant-General; which accordingly I did, and found eight or ten of his advisers with him. The design of their meeting was, to persuade me either to deliver up my commission, or to engage under my hand, not to act by virtue of it, till I should first receive commission so to do from Cromwel, or Lt-Gen. Fleetwood. To the first I answered, That I durst not deliver my commission to any other power, save that of the parliament, who had intrusted me with it; and that it was all I had to justify me for doing many things wherein the lives of men had been concerned. To the second, I could by no means consent; because I durst not tie my own hands from acting by virtue of it, when I should be justly called upon so to do. Being returned to my house, doubtful what the event of this contest might be, and desirous to have good advice before I proceeded  
any

any farther, I sent to four or five officers, of whose integrity I had a good opinion, to ask their judgment in this case. The result of our conference was, That I should, in a letter to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, state the justice of my call to the employment whereof I was possessed, and the conditions on which I received my commission, being particularly solicited to it by Cromwel himself, when he appeared in the shape of a commonwealth's man; the authority that gave me my commission; the present defection from that authority and common cause, which Cromwel, as well as I, had engaged to maintain; the duty incumbent upon me to disperse the said books, because the substance of my dissatisfaction was contained in them; withal, to declare what I would be satisfied with, if it might be attained; and if that could not be, how far I thought myself obliged to submit. A letter to this effect being drawn up by me, with the advice of the officers above mentioned, I sent it to the Lieutenant-General; and, some time after, received a message from him, to acquaint me, that, according to a late order brought to him from England, I must either deliver my commission, or be sent prisoner thither. I told the messenger, that I could not comply with his demand, though I should be sent prisoner to Rome; but that the commission lay in a cabinet in my closet, where he might find it, if he thought fit to break open the door, and take it away. But he, having no other orders than to demand the delivery of my commission; departed without it. A day or two after, Mr. Miles Corbet came to my house by order of the Lieutenant-General, and shewed me the letter that

Cromwel had sent, to require him to demand the surrender of my commission; and, in case of refusal, to secure my person in Ireland, or to send me prisoner to England. He used what arguments he could to induce me to a compliance; which when I had heard, I set down in writing my answer, to be delivered to Lt-Gen: Fleetwood; which was in substance to let him know, That I looked upon my commission to be of no more danger to them, than if it was actually taken from me, and cancelled at the head of the army; but that I was not willing, by a voluntary submission, to own the justice of the present order, because I had received the said commission from the parliament, to serve as an officer in their army, in order to the execution of justice upon those who had murdered and oppressed the English Protestants; and that I durst not consent to be withdrawn from that duty by any, save that authority alone which had placed me in that station; that if I had received my commission immediately from the General, I should not willingly return it at his pleasure in this conjuncture, as well in regard to the duty I owed to the public, as to the army; that it could be esteemed nothing less than a wilful betraying of that cause for which I had contended in conjunction with the army, if I, who had been honoured with an employment in a war raised for the defence of liberty, against the arbitrary power of a single person, should voluntarily submit to what was proposed. For since the whole authority of the three nations was assumed by the army, if I should acknowledge the entire disposal of all things relating to that army to reside in the General, what would

would this be, but to declare my consent to give up the power of the parliament, army, and nation, into his hands? However, to avoid extremities as far as I was able, I proposed, that if a council of the officers who were about Dublin might be called, and that, upon a full hearing and debate of the matter, they should declare it to be my duty, I would submit, as to the higher powers, having none at present to appeal to from them but God. This expedient being not approved, the Lieutenant-General sent Mr. Miles Corbet again to me, with a proposition; That I would chuse either to go to London, or to be confined in Ireland. In answer to which, and upon consideration of the discomposure of my affairs in England, by reason of a great debt left upon my estate at my departure thence, not likely to be lessened by my absence, and being very desirous to come to a speedy trial for my refusal to deliver my commission; I made choice of the former. Mr. Corbet then told me, that a man of war should be prepared for my transportation, provided I would give my word to appear before Cromwel, and not to act any thing against him in the mean time; to which I consented. For though I durst not engage to disable myself from acting, whilst nothing was objected against me, lest I should thereby not only have given away my own liberty, but also make an ill precedent for other men; yet, being now accused of a pretended crime, I was contented to pass my parole to appear as desired, and in the mean time not to act against him. When the Lieutenant-General perceived that I was resolved on my journey, he desired me to put off my departure for two months; pretend-

ing

ing that things being in some disorder in England, he feared Cromwel might apprehend a necessity of using me with more severity than he wished; and, to soften this delay, gave a warrant for the payment of a sum of money to me, for defraying my expences whilst I staid, together with those of my journey to London. And indeed what he said concerning the disorders of England was not without ground; things running every day more and more into confusion; the cavaliers being enraged to see the throne usurped; and those who had hazarded all for their country finding themselves cheated; custom and excise raised without authority of parliament; and taxes imposed to no other end, than to support the pride and insolence of a single person. Some there were that openly opposed these oppressions. And, amongst others, Mr. George Cony, a merchant, who having refused to pay custom, it was violently taken from him; and he thereupon sued the Collector at the common law. But Cromwel, resolving to put a stop to such dangerous precedents, caused the counsel for Mr. Cony, who were, Serjeant Maynard, Serjeant Twyden, and Mr. Wadham Wyndham, to be sent to the Tower; where they had not been above three or four days, when they unworthily petitioned to be set at liberty, acknowledging their fault, and promising to do so no more; chusing rather to sacrifice the cause of their client, wherein that of their country was also eminently concerned, than to endure a little restraint, with the loss of the fees for a few days. By this means, when the cause came to the next hearing, Mr. Cony was necessitated to plead for himself; which he did in as short a manner

manner as he could ; referring it wholly to the judge, whether that tax, being not authorised by parliament, ought to be paid by the law of the land ; and declaring that he would abide by his judgment therein. Serjeant Rolls, then Chief Justice of the upper bench, though a conscientious man, and a lover of civil liberty, yet not daring to determine it for him, said, that something must be allowed to cases of necessity. To which Mr. Cony replied, That it was never wont to be a good plea in law, for a man to make necessities, and then to plead them. But the judge, wanting courage, would not give judgment against the usurper ; and being too much an honest man to give it for him, he took time till the next ensuing term to consider what rule he should give in the case. In the mean time, upon consideration that his continuance in that station was like to ensnare him more and more, he desired, by a letter to Cromwel, to have his *quietus* ; and Serjeant Glynn was appointed to succeed him in his employment, as a fitter instrument to carry on the designs on foot. The new Chief Justice, before he came to sit on the bench, took care to have this business accommodated with Cony ; who lost his reputation, by withdrawing himself from a cause wherein the public was so much concerned. Sir Peter Wentworth, a member of the long parliament, caused also a Collector in the country to be arrested, and prosecuted at his suit, though he could hardly procure an Attorney to appear, or counsel to plead for him. Cromwel, having received notice of this prosecution, sent a messenger, with an order to bring him before the council ; where being examined concerning the ground

ground of his proceeding, he told them, that he was moved to it by his constant principle, "That, by the law of England, no money ought to be levied upon the people without their consent in parliament." Cromwel then asked him, Whether he would withdraw his action or no? To which he replied, "If you will command me, I must submit;" and thereupon, Cromwel having commanded it, he withdrew his action. Some time after, taking the liberty, in a discourse with him, to reprove him for that retractation, he made me this answer, That no man could have done more than he did to the time of his appearing at the council; and that if he had then failed in any thing, it must be attributed to his age of threescore and three years; when, said he, the blood does not run with the same vigour as in younger men. It having been discovered, that the Lord Grey of Grooby had given to a person a copy of the memento which I had before dispersed in Ireland, he was sent for to London, and committed prisoner to Windsor castle for the same. The next term he sued for a *Habeas corpus*; which the Chief Justice, according to law, granted him. But the Governor of Windsor castle refused to give obedience to the order of court, and so rendered it ineffectual to him; insomuch that he could not obtain his liberty till he had given a pecuniary security not to act against the government; which he chose to do rather than to engage his parole; thereby hazarding only the loss of so much money, and preserving his honour and integrity. Col. Sexby was also suspected to have had a hand in the dispersion of the petitions and memento's before mentioned; and thereupon was sent for in



in order to be secured : which he having notice of, fled ; but was pursued so close, that his man was taken with his portmanteau. Cromwel being disappointed of taking him, pretended on the account of ancient friendship to pass by what he had done, and proposed to employ him as his agent to those of Bourdeaux, who had applied themselves for succour against the oppressing ministry of France. The Colonel being under necessity, accepted of the employment ; and Cromwel ordered him a sum of money to supply his present occasions, with letters of exchange for more at Bourdeaux. Being thus furnished, he went over to France ; where his business being betrayed to the magistrates of Bourdeaux, they gave order to seize his person ; but he having received advice of their intentions, made his escape by night over the wall of the town, and departed from that kingdom.

In Ireland it was thought fit to disband some part of the army ; yet rather to free themselves of some of the discontented party, than that nation of the charge. In order to this, a list was produced lately sent from England, appointing what regiments of horse and foot should be broken. Of these mine was to be one ; though care was taken that those of my regiment, or any other, that would sail with any wind, should be provided for. And it must be acknowledged, that they were so just to allow both officers and soldiers their full arrears out of the forfeited lands in each county, according to the rates that had been set upon them by the general council of officers, wherein the goodness and conveniency of every county was estimated and equally balanced. The arrears of my regiment  
fell

sell by lot to be satisfied in the county of Wexford; where I ordered Capt. Walcot, my Captain-Lieutenant, with my Cornet and Quartermaster, to act for me, which they did; and my proportion in the said land yielded me about 100 l. the first year, and afterwards near 200 l. It was reported to be farther improvable; but I never saw it, and know not whether I ever shall. My Lieutenant-Colonel having had his arrears with the rest of the regiment, was accused of saying, that this distribution would prove invalid without an act of parliament, and the crime aggravated by one, who informed at the head quarters, as if he designed to excite the soldiers to a mutiny; whereupon he was sent for, and committed to custody till he gave assurance of his quiet and peaceable behaviour.

The design of seizing the riches of the Spaniards in the West Indies having proved unsuccessful, and instead of bringing gold or silver home, much was transported from hence thither, where many of our men daily perished through want, and the excessive heats of that climate; yet it was resolved to keep Jamaica, of which place Col. Fortescue was made Governor, and Commander in Chief of the forces there, after the return of Col. Venables. Amongst others that died, there was one Mr. Winslow, who had been designed to be Governor of some place when they could get it. In this expedition one Mr. Gage a priest died also, who was reported to have been a principal adviser of this undertaking. Col. Fortescue continued not long in his employment before he died also. After whose death Col. Edward D'Oyly was made commander in Chief; and he falling to plant, made

shift to get a subsistence; which was but a poor return for the expence and loss sustained in this attempt. And as Cromwel was thus prodigal of the lives of Englishmen abroad, so was he no less of our liberties at home: for not contenting himself with the death of many of those who had raised arms against him, and seizure of the goods of that party, he transported whole droves of them at a time into foreign parts, without any legal trial. In the number of those that were sent away, were Mr. William Ashburnham, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and others; to whom may be added Lt-Col. John Lilburn, who, contrary to all law, and after an acquittal by a jury, had been formerly banished. And now to prevent Maj.-Gen. Overton from the benefit of a *Habeas corpus*, for which Cromwel was informed he intended to move, though he had no reason to allege why it should be denied him, yet he sent him in custody to Jersey, with the hazard of his life, and to the great prejudice of his estate. Maj. John Wildman was also seized upon, and it was pretended that he was taken dictating to his servant a declaration for levying war against Oliver Cromwel. The citizens of London were made acquainted with it; and the said Major brought to London by a guard of horse, and committed prisoner to the Tower.

Oliver having felt the pulse of the army in Ireland, as was observed before, resolved to send his son Harry thither, that, being on the place, he might be the more able to fix the soldiery to his interest. In his journey to Ireland with his wife and family, he was every where caressed by the cavalier-party; and particularly entertained by Col. Mosson in North-Wales, where the

health of his father was drunk by the said Colonel. After some time spent in those parts, he put to sea; and upon his arrival in the bay of Dublin, the men of war that accompanied him, and other ships in the harbour, rung such a peal with their cannon, as if some great good news had been coming to us: and though the usual place of landing for those who came in ships of war was near my house, yet he and his company went up in boats to the Rings-end; where they went ashore, and were met there by most of the officers civil and military about the town. The end of his coming over was not at first discovered, and conjectured to be only to command in the army as Major-General under Lt-Gen. Fleetwood. The two months agreed on at the desire of the Lieutenant-General for my stay in Ireland being expired, he renewed his request, that I would again defer my journey to England for two months longer; to which I consented, not doubting that it proceeded from his friendship to me. But the last two months drawing near to an end, I began to prepare for my journey: which being observed, an order, pursuant to instructions from England, was brought to me by Col. Thomas Herbert, Secretary of the council, requiring me to remain in Ireland. The Secretary told me, that he had it in commission from Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, to acquaint me, that upon his own account, and notwithstanding this order, he would take upon him to give me permission to go into England for settling my affairs there, if I would engage to return within six months, and not act against the present government during that time.

Though I thought myself very ill used, not only

only by being denied the opportunity of coming to a speedy trial for not delivering my commission at the command of the General, but also by being prevented to take care of my private affairs without these fetters; yet I let him know, that I would attend the Lieutenant-General the next morning concerning this matter. Which having done according to my promise, he pressed me to comply with his request, with the general argument of the duty that lay upon me to submit to the higher powers. I answered, That as I conceived it was yet in dispute who were these higher powers, whether, the government of a commonwealth, or that of a single person; that I knew not whether, within the time prefixed by him for me to engage not to act, I might have an opportunity so to do; and therefore durst not engage to the contrary. He demanded of me what I judged an opportunity to justify me in such an undertaking? To which I replied, Such an appearance of good men, as might probably balance the power of the single person. I took the liberty also to tell him, that he himself had already justified that principle by his own practice in acting against the King. "But, said he, we had the authority of the parliament for our justification." But what, said I, have you to countenance you in your actions now for a single person against the parliament, which I may not have to justify me in acting with another power against this single person? And, for any thing I know, the same parliamentary authority that commissioned us all to act against the King, may, within that time, authorise me to act against the present single person. Two or three conferences and messages

passed between us upon this business; the result of all which was, that I promised to render myself a prisoner to Cromwel, who might farther dispose of me as God should permit him. But this offer not proving satisfactory, the council seconded their former order, and required me not to go out of Ireland without their farther directions. Finding myself thus surrounded, and well knowing that this hardship was imposed upon me by order from Whitehall, and that what the Lieutenant-General had proposed, was out of affection to my person, I thought myself obliged to use my utmost endeavours to secure him from suffering for his civility and friendship to me. To that end, I proposed, that though I could not engage positively not to act during six months, as was desired, because whatever opportunity might be offered, I should then have my hands tied during the said time; yet I would promise not to act within that time against the present government, unless I had first surrendered myself to the General, or Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, and desired of them to be freed from this engagement. Lt-Gen. Fleetwood consented to this proposition, professing his readiness to comply with my desires in what he could. And accordingly this agreement being drawn up to our mutual satisfaction, together with his permission for my departure to England, was signed by him at the Phoenix, in the presence of Mr. Corbet, then Chief Baron in that nation. The next day Col. Lawrence came to me; and, after some discourse, told me, that, by reason of some opposition which the Lieutenant-General had met with in my affair, he had sent him to desire of me, that, notwithstanding what had passed be-

tween

tween us, I would respite my journey for a fortnight or three weeks longer; in which time he doubted not to clear my way for me. I presently suspected from what corner the wind blew, but knew not how to help myself for the present. The next morning Mr. Corbet sent me a message, to desire that I would meet him on the road betwixt my house and Dublin; which having done according to his appointment, he acquainted me more particularly with what had happened; telling me, that Col. Cromwel was so enraged at the form of our agreement, that he had written to his father concerning it, inso-much that if I should venture to go, he doubted I might be obstructed by the way; which would not only be troublesome to me, but dishonourable to the Lieutenant-General. He assured me also, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood would take such care to represent the matter in England, that all obstacles to my passage might be removed in a short time; and desired of me, that I would not have the worse opinion of him for not performing at present what he had promised. In answer to Mr. Corbet, I let him know, that I found myself so much disposed to the contrary, that whereas once I thought the Lieutenant-General could have done more for me if he would, now I clearly perceived he had done more on my account than he could well answer.

It now began to be public, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood was suddenly to depart for England, though it was given out that his business there was only to advise in some particular affairs, and that he should speedily return to Ireland. At his departure, he was accompanied by Col. Cromwel and his Lady, the council, the Mayor:

and Aldermen of Dublin, with most of the considerable persons then about the city. They brought him as far as my house, which stood near the place of imbarcking, where, after a short stay, he went on board, and departed for England; leaving me with a permission to transport myself into England, which was to take effect about a month after, requiring all persons to permit me to pass without interruption. He promised me likewise, that in the mean time he would take care to remove all difficulties that might hinder me, and that it should be the first business he would do after his arrival at London.

Some time after, I understood by a letter from my father Oldsworth, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood had assured him, that I would suddenly be in England, and that he had left me a passport as sufficient to that purpose as he could give, or I needed; which being spoken by him after he had been with his father Cromwel, made me presume he had cleared the way for me. Having received this advice, I prepared for my journey; and waiting on Mr. Corbet to take my leave of him, I shewed him the Lieutenant-General's pass, and that clause in my father Oldsworth's letter which related to it. He told me, that Col. Cromwel, who was then in his progress, had sent a message to him, that he should acquaint me with a second order lately brought from England, to require positively my stay in Ireland; but withal added, that, being unwilling to be employed in such unwelcome messages to his friends, he had made his excuse to the Colonel by letter; which he presumed was accepted by him, because he had heard nothing of it since that time: and therefore declared, that he



he mentioned it not to me as a person commissioned so to do, but only as a friend. I told him, that I should take no notice of it, but proceed on my voyage, as I had before designed, having already hired a vessel to that end. He then desired, that I would stay till the return of Col. Cromwel, which would certainly be within two or three days, lest it should be suspected that he had advised with me about my departure. I being unwilling to bring any prejudice upon him, consented to defer my journey till the return of Col. Cromwel; and endeavoured to attend him on the day of his coming to town. But he arriving late in the night, I found myself obliged to go home without speaking to him, by reason of a humour fallen upon one of my legs, which had been hurt by a horse: so that I was constrained to put my wife to the trouble of making my excuse; who acquainting him with my condition, and shewing him the Lieutenant-General's pass, with the clause in that letter before mentioned, assured him that the composure and settlement of my estate in England necessarily required my presence there. He told her, that he knew nothing to hinder my passage, and that a man of war was ready in the harbour for our transportation; and desiring her to dine, promised, that, after dinner, they should go together to Cork-house, to speak with Mr. Corbet her husband's old friend, as he favoured me to call him, and that the work should be done. My wife accordingly went with him, full of expectation that the business she came about would be effected. But after he had consulted with Mr. Corbet, he told her, that though I had the Lieutenant-General's pass, yet, because  
he

he had since received a command for my stay; he could not give order for my departure: that if she would go, she should have a ship of war to transport her; which she excused, unless I might have permission to go also. “Then, said she, though you will not grant a warrant for my husband’s going, I hope you will not order his stay.” “No indeed, said Col. Cromwel, I shall not, though I think it would be much better for him to stay; though what I speak is as a friend, and not as one in authority.”

Upon consideration of these particulars, 1st, That I had the Lieutenant-General’s order, who was then the chief officer in Ireland, together with Mr. Corbet’s advice for my going, who was one of the council, in case I were not ordered to stay; and also Col. Cromwel’s promise, who was principal in command upon the place, that he would not detain me; I resolved to go aboard. And having written a letter to Col. Cromwel, to assure him that the end of my going to England was to settle my discomposed family and estate, I ordered it not to be delivered to him till the next day about noon, and endeavoured to get on board with my wife and servants on that day: but the wind blowing hard, and the weather being very bad, no boat could be procured that would adventure to sea. At last I prevailed, not without difficulty, with the master of one of the largest herring-vessels that was in the bay to carry me and my family to the ship which was to transport me, and lay about a league and a half from the shore. We departed between two and three in the afternoon, and were accompanied to the ship by about 200 people of the place: so that it could not be justly said, as  
it

It was afterwards, that I stole away privately ; the road by which the vessel must necessarily pass, being also within sight of Dublin. Being arrived on board the man of war which lay ready for us, we weighed anchor about eleven o'clock that night, and recovered the harbour of Beaumaris by next day at noon ; about which time my letter to Col. Cromwel was, according to my order, delivered to him by my servant. The weather was so tempestuous, that we durst not adventure to land till the second day after our arrival ; when the wind somewhat abating, we went ashore ; where the Governor of Beaumaris met us, and furnished us with horses to carry us to the town. We observed him to look a little melancholy, yet suspected not the reason of it. But after dinner the Governor, as civilly as he could, acquainted me, that one Capt. Shaw, who was then in town, had brought him an order from Col. Henry Cromwel, and the rest of the council in Ireland, to detain me there till the pleasure of his father should be known concerning me. I desired a sight of the order, and found it to be directed to the Governor of Beaumaris, Chester, or any other garrison, or Commander of any of the forces, &c. and signed by Henry Cromwel, \*\*\*\*\* Pepis, Matt. Thomlinson, and Miles Corbet. Capt. Shaw excused himself for being employed in this message ; and told me, that the day after I left Ireland, he being just then arrived from England, and very weary of his journey, went to bed ; where he had not been above an hour, before he was sent for by Col. Cromwel, and told, that being informed of my departure for England, which was expressly against an order received from

from his father, he had immediately summoned a council, where it had been agreed to send after me, and to secure me wheresoever I should be overtaken; and that he had pitched upon him as a fit person to be employed in this business, and to attend his father and the Lieutenant-General with an account of it. He said he had endeavoured to get himself excused; but neither his weariness by reason of his great journey, nor any other arguments, would prevail with Col. Cromwel. I told him, that those who resolved to worship the rising sun, must not refuse to run upon more ungrateful errands than this, even towards the best of their friends; and therefore could not suppose, that any respect which he expressed to have for me, should prevail to excuse him from this employment; however, that I thought Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, whom I knew to be the person he hoped to advance himself by, would not take it well that he should be instrumental in offering this affront to his authority, he being chief Governor of Ireland, and I on my journey by his passport and permission, who I hoped understood his own power. The Lord Fitzwilliams, a civil person, though a Papist, and one who had been Lieutenant-General to Preston when he commanded an army of Irish rebels, came over with us from Ireland; and being ready to take horse for London, was pleased to give me a visit before he went; wherein he not only expressed himself very sorry to see me under restraint, but assured me of his readiness to use his utmost endeavours with his Highness the Lord Protector, as he thought fit to call him, in my behalf. I gave him my thanks for his civility; but thought it a strange revolution of affairs,

fairs, that the interest of a Gentleman who had been Lieutenant-General in the army of the Irish rebels, should be so much greater than mine in the General of the army of the commonwealth. Capt. Shaw being ready to depart for London, and desiring to know if he could do any service for me there, I gave him a letter for Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, which was to let him know what had happened since his departure, wherein I thought him to be much more concerned than myself; and that being his prisoner, and coming upon his permission, the affront was wholly done to him, though the suffering part fell to my share. In the evening I was conveyed to a widow's house in the town; where I had the conveniency of a chamber and dining-room, with a centinel placed at the stair's head. With great impatience I expected the return of the post from London; hoping that the matter would be so presented by Lt-Gen. Fleetwood and Capt. Shaw, that I might have my liberty. But the usurper, whose jealousies increased with his guilt, being informed of my landing, dispatched an order to the Governor of Beaumaris, to this effect, "That whereas Lt-Gen. Ludlow was stoln out of Ireland, he should take care to keep him in strict and safe custody, and not to permit any to speak with him." Upon the receipt of this order, the Governor, resolving to make his fortune by any means, proposed to imprison me in the castle; the air of which place is so unhealthy, that the soldiers dare not lodge there. And it is observed, that few prisoners who have been confined there, have ever recovered from the distempers which they contracted. I told him, that, being in

in his power, I could not resist; but the warrant requiring no such thing, a time might come wherein he might be called to account for what he now did. Whereupon he thought fit to let me remain at my lodgings; but permitted no man to come to me, save my own servants, and of these not above two. One cause of this severity toward me, as I conjecture, was, that I might not have an opportunity of speaking with the officers of the Irish brigade, lest I should have put them in mind of their duty; who having served Cromwel's turn in assisting to suppress the late attempts against him, were now returning for Ireland, and lay at Beaumaris in expectation of a wind. Neither did their cruelty extend only to me. But Col. Cromwel having notice that Col. Kempstone, who married my sister, had assisted me in my going away, and had not given advice to him of it, committed him to prison; where he was used with equal severity as myself; though he alledged in his justification, that he knew not that I was guilty of any crime, nor that I was forbidden to depart from Ireland; and though he did not know of any necessity I had of a pass for my going, yet he well knew that I had one from Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, the chief officer of Ireland; and that he only accompanied me to the water-side, as a hundred more had done.

To prevent any false representation of the state of my business, I gave an account of it to my friends in Ireland, as well as to those in England. Some of my letters were intercepted; and in one of them was found an expression to this effect. "Though I know not of any crime  
 " whereof I am guilty, yet I am worse used by  
 " those

“ those with whom I have engaged, than by  
“ those against whom I fought: for when I  
“ was made prisoner by the latter, no person  
“ was denied the liberty of coming to me, and  
“ I was permitted in public to give my reasons  
“ in justification of the proceedings of the par-  
“ liament; but the present powers being, as it  
“ seems, more conscious of their own guilt, will  
“ not permit me either to see or speak with any  
“ of my friends.” After I had been six weeks  
a prisoner, Capt. Shaw returned to Beaumaris,  
with an order for my discharge, on condition  
that I would sign an engagement which he  
brought ready drawn, to oblige myself never to  
act against the present government. He told  
me, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, suspecting my un-  
willingness to sign any such paper, had desired  
Col. John Jones to accompany him to me; and  
either to persuade me to subscribe it, or to ac-  
commodate the business as well as he could. Ac-  
cordingly Col. Jones came to me with Col. Sad-  
ler, who commanded the Irish brigade before  
mentioned, and who had been long in the town,  
though he durst not come to me before this time.  
Upon the perusal of this engagement, which was  
proposed as the condition of my discharge, I soon  
came to a resolution, that I would not sign it, if  
my life as well as my liberty had lain at stake;  
acquainting them with the reasons of my refusal,  
and with the engagement given to Lt-Gen.  
Fleetwood, by which I stood obliged to render  
myself a prisoner either to Cromwel or himself;  
which I was ready to perform. Col. Sadler said,  
That it was highly reasonable, and as much as  
could be expected from me; and added, that  
he was confident the difference between Crom-

wel and me was grounded upon mistakes; he having heard him express great affection to me, with protestations that he wished me as well as any man in the three nations. I thought it not convenient to take much pains to undeceive him; but was rather willing he should believe that he spoke in earnest, though indeed he loved no person living any farther than he served to promote his ambition: for how could it be expected, that one who had sacrificed his conscience and honour, as well as the cause of his country, to the idol of his pride, should scruple to trample under foot any man that stood in his way? One of the company endeavoured to persuade me to sign the paper as it was drawn; reserving to myself those explanations which I had before proposed, or else to look upon myself as free from any obligation, being under a force. To which I answered, That I thought it below a man to be compelled to any act against his conscience, with an intention to violate the same; and that to reserve any explanations to myself, as it had been against my practice, so was it contrary to my principles, unless the Governor would consent to accept my subscription to the engagement with such an explanation as I was willing to make. Thus despairing to obtain the liberty of pursuing my journey at that time, I prepared to send my wife to settle my affairs as well as she could; and the company being gone to dinner, I wrote letters to my friends and relations; when on a sudden Col. Jones and Col. Sadler came up to tell me, that the Governor was willing to discharge me, if I would sign the engagement with such an explanation as I had proposed. Hereupon I desired the Governor not  
to



to do any thing out of respect to me, that might not consist with the duty of his place, or prove to be to his prejudice; my explanation being, in my opinion, an absolute repeal of the engagement as soon as I had rendered myself. He replied, he had considered of it; and was willing to accept of it, if I would sign it. Whereupon the company desired me to draw my own explanation; which I did to this effect, *viz.* “ I look  
“ upon this engagement now tendered to me  
“ for my subscription by the Governor of Beaumaris, by order from, &c. to be no longer of  
“ any force than till I have rendered myself a  
“ prisoner at Whitehall; and in that sense I  
“ only subscribe it.” Having drawn and signed two copies of this explanation, and procured them to be attested by Col. John Jones, Col. Sadler, and Capt. Shaw, I delivered one of them to the Governor, and kept the other myself; and then signed the engagement. Capt. Shaw informed me, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood had been much concerned for my restraint, and had expressed himself highly displeased with him for undertaking that employment; that he had used all possible diligence for my liberty, in which he had met with great opposition; in particular, that Maj.-Gen. Lambert had endeavoured to persuade him, that I was of such principles, and such a spirit, as not to deserve my liberty; though I cannot remember, that our familiarity had ever been so great as to enable him to give a character of me.

Having thus cleared my way, I departed from Beaumaris, and, passing over Penman-Maur, I arrived at Conway the first night. From thence in two days I reached Wrexham; where, after

we had been treated two or three days by Col. Jones, my coach, which I had sent before from Ireland, being brought to us, we set forward on our journey for London. But the ways being extremely bad, by reason of a frost which yet was not able to bear the coach, it was near three o'clock before we came to Whitchurch, though it was not above twelve miles. But being desirous to reach London if possible that week, fearing, if Cromwel should hear of my being on the road, he would send to stop me, we travelled till nine o'clock that night, and the next after till twelve. The next day we came to Coventry about four in the afternoon; where Col. Whalley commanded as Bashaw, or Major-General. After some refreshment we continued our journey; and, by the help of the moon-light, and the snow that lay on the ground, we reached Dunchurch a little after twelve. There we rested till about three, and then set forward toward Worcester; where we arrived by six that night; and between one and two the next morning we began our journey for London. But at Stony-stratford the coach breaking, my wife and I, with two or three servants, took horse; and, about six of the clock in the evening of the 10th of December, one of the shortest days of the year, we came to Westminster, having travelled fifty miles that day. The same night I waited on Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, to acknowledge his care of me, and to acquaint him with the condition on which I had my liberty to come up, and with the explanation upon which only I had signed the engagement proposed to me; and desired of him, that the whole matter of fact might be plainly stated to his father-in-law, and that

I might be now accounted free from that engagement, according to the explanation. He told me, he was glad to see me there, and would take care to acquaint his Highness, as he called him, with what I had said, and to represent it as much as might be to my advantage. The next Wednesday after my arrival, about eight in the evening, Cromwel sent a Gentleman, one Mr. Fenwick, to let me know that he would speak with me. I found him in his bedchamber at Whitehall, and with him Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Col. Sydenham, Mr. Walter Strickland, Col. Montague; and soon after came in Lt-Gen. Fleetwood. The first salute I received from him, was to tell me, that I had not dealt fairly with him, in making him to believe I had signed an engagement not to act against him, and yet reserving an explanation whereby I made void that engagement; which if it had not been made known to him, he might have relied upon my promise, and so have been engaged in blood before he was aware. I told him, I knew not why he should look upon me to be so considerable: neither could I apprehend how it had been possible for me to deal more fairly and openly with him than I had done: for I had told his Governor at Beaumaris, that if my life as well as my liberty had been at stake, I could not sign the engagement simply; and therefore had resolved to continue there, had not the Governor himself expressed a desire to accept of my subscription with that explanation. And because I accounted it to be in effect a repeal of the engagement, I had told him so, and desired him to do nothing out of respect to me that consisted not with his duty. Notwithstanding which the Governor

I 3

told

told me, he was free to accept my subscription ; so that I knew not but he might have received instructions so to do. “ No, said Cromwel ; he “ had none from me.” That was more, said I, than I knew ; and if you had not notice as well of the one as the other, it was not my fault, for I had acquainted you with neither ; and those who informed you of the one, I presumed had made you acquainted with the other also. He then objected to me, that I was stoln from Ireland without leave. To which I made answer, That though I knew no cause why I should either be detained in Ireland, or obliged to ask leave to depart ; yet, to avoid all pretence of exception against me, I had taken care to procure even that too, as far as it was possible ; having a passport for England from Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, the chief officer of Ireland, with the advice of Mr. Corbet, one of his council, for my coming, and his son Harry’s promise not to obstruct me in my journey. He next asked me, Wherefore I would not engage not to act against the present government ? telling me, that, if Nero were in power, it would be my duty to submit. To which I replied, That I was ready to submit ; and could truly say, that I knew not of any design against him. But, said I, if Providence open a way, and give an opportunity of appearing in behalf of the people, I cannot consent to tie my own hands before-hand, and oblige myself not to lay hold on it. “ However, said he, it “ is not reasonable to suffer one that I distrust to “ come within my house, till he assure me he will “ do me no mischief.” I told him, I was not accustomed to go to any house, unless I expected to be welcome ; neither had I come hither but  
upon

upon a message from him; and that I desired nothing but a little liberty to breathe in the air, to which I conceived I had an equal right with other men. He then fell to inveigh bitterly against Maj. Wildman, as the author of the petition from the army before mentioned; reviling him with unhandsome language, and saying, he deserved to be hanged; and that he must secure me also, if I would not oblige myself never to act against him. I told him, I had gone as far as I could in that engagement which I had given to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood; and, if that were not thought sufficient, I resolved, with God's assistance, to suffer any extremities that might be imposed upon me. "Yes, said he, we know your resolution well enough, and we have cause to be as stout as you. But I pray who spoke of your suffering?" Sir, said I, if I am not deceived, you mentioned the securing my person. "Yea, said he, and great reason there is why we should do so: for I am ashamed to see that engagement which you have given to the Lieutenant-General; which would be more fit for a General who should be taken prisoner, and that hath yet an army of 30,000 men in the field, than for one in your condition." I answered, That it was as much as I could consent to give, and what Lt-Gen. Fleetwood thought fit to accept. Then beginning to carry himself more calmly, he said, that he had been always ready to do me what good offices he could; and that he wished me as well as he did any one of his council; desiring me to make choice of some place to be in, where I might have good air. I assured him, that my dissatisfactions were not grounded upon any animosity against his person; and that if my own father were

were alive, and in his place, they would, I doubted not, be altogether as great. He acknowledged, that I had always carried myself fairly and openly to him; and protested, that he had never given me just cause to act otherwise.

When Cromwel had finished his discourse, some of those who were present began to make their observations; and particularly Col. Montague thought it worthy his notice, that I had intimated, "If Providence should offer an occasion, I was ready to act against the present government;" but the rest of the company seemed ashamed of what he said. Maj.-Gen. Lambert then desired to know from me why I could not own this as a lawful government. Because, said I, it seems to me to be in substance a re-establishment of that which we all engaged against, and had with a great expence of blood and treasure abolished. "What then, said he, "would you account to be a sufficient warrant for "you to act against the present authority?" I answered, When I might rationally hope to be supported by an authority equal or superior to this; and could be persuaded, that the said authority would employ its power for the good of mankind. "But who shall be judge of that? said he; for all are ready to say they do so, and we "ourselves think we use the best of our endeavours to that end." I replied, That, if they did so, their crime was the less; because every man stands obliged to govern himself by the light of his own reason; which rule, with the assistance of God, I was determined to observe. Col. Sydenham said, we might be mistaken in judging that to be a power giving us a just and rational call to act, which may not be so. I told him, that

that we ought to be very careful and circumspect in that particular, and at least be assured of very probable grounds to believe the power under which we engage to be sufficiently able to protect us in our undertaking; otherwise I should account myself not only guilty of my own blood, but also in some measure of the ruin and destruction of all those that I should induce to engage with me, though the cause were never so just.

This discourse being ended, I was desired to withdraw into the next room; where Lt-Gen. Fleetwood came to me, and laboured to persuade me to engage, as was desired, though but for a week. I made answer, That I was not willing to do it for an hour. "Then, said he, you shall engage to me." I told him, I looked upon myself already obliged by the conditions of my late engagement, farther than which I could not go; and thereupon returned to my lodging, in order to employ my leisure about my private affairs during that time.

The design against the Spaniards in the West-Indies having been, as was before related, unsuccessful, it was resolved to send 3000 men from Scotland and Ireland to reinforce the party in Jamaica; which from 12,000 men was now reduced to little more than 3000. The officers of this reinforcement were to be of such as were accounted dissatisfied with the present posture of affairs, and therefore thought unfit to remain here. Amongst the officers of the Scots regiment was a Lieutenant-Colonel; I think it was Lt-Col. Brain, who some time before had been cashiered for his affection to the commonwealth, which was now esteemed the common enemy.

enemy. But not having gained by his faithful services any competent subsistence, as mercenary officers generally know how to do, he was driven to the necessity of accepting the command of that regiment.

According to their instructions, they set sail for the place of rendezvous, where they were to meet those forces that were ordered to join them from Ireland. But a violent storm arising in their passage, this Colonel, with about 300 men, was cast away; the rest being driven on the coast of Ireland.

Great endeavours were used in Ireland to persuade Lt-Col. Walker, an honest man, and a good officer, to undertake the command of those forces that were ordered to be sent from thence. But he perceiving the design, and being thoroughly sensible that this offer was not made to him from any affection to his person, or sense of his services, refused to bite at the bait, though it was gilded as much as might be, by advancing a considerable sum, and satisfying the arrears of those that went out of the forfeited lands, in such places as they should chuse. Upon his refusal, Maj. Moor accepted the employment, with the title of Colonel; but on condition, that, after he had conducted the men to Jamaica, he should have liberty to return: which he did, after many difficulties and hazards of his person. Capt. Chester, a stout man, and one who at a general council of officers had openly expressed his discontent against the usurpation, was also persuaded to engage in this service, and lost his life in the expedition.

Cromwel perceiving he could not compass his designs against Spain by his own power, entered  
into



into an alliance with the French; who, by the treaty with him, obliged themselves not to permit the sons of the late King to remain in any part of France; which article was punctually performed: for such is the mystery, or rather knavery of those governments that are framed to support an arbitrary power, that they will not scruple to sacrifice the best friends and nearest relations when they stand in the way of their designs. This confederacy was dearly purchased on our part; for by it the balance of the two crowns of Spain and France was destroyed, and a foundation laid for the future greatness of the French, to the unspeakable prejudice of all Europe in general, and of this nation in particular, whose interest it had been to that time accounted to maintain that equality as near as might be.

In the mean time the Major-Generals carried things with unheard-of insolence in their several precincts, decimating to extremity whom they pleased, and interrupting the proceedings at law upon petitions of those who pretended themselves aggrieved; threatening such as would not yield a ready submission to their orders, with transportation to Jamaica, or some other plantations in the West-Indies; and suffering none to escape their persecution, but those that would betray their own party, by discovering the persons that had acted with them or for them. And here I cannot omit to mention a farmer in Berkshire, who being demanded to pay his tenth, desired to know of the commissioners, in case he did so, what security he should have for the other nine parts; and answer being made, that he should have Cromwel's order and theirs-  
for

for the enjoyment of the rest; he replied, That he had already an act of parliament for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good security as they could give. "But, said he, if goodman such a one, and another whom he named of his neighbours, will give me their bond for it, I know what to say to such a proposal; for if they break their agreement, I know where to right myself; but these swordmen are too strong for me."

A Squadron of our ships cruizing off the coast of Spain, met with and fought five ships returning thither from the West-Indies, which had on board a Spanish Marquis, who, with his family, and great wealth acquired in his government there, was coming back to Spain. The Spaniards defended themselves as well as they could: but the Marquis thinking it impossible to escape, set fire to the ship wherein he was, and, with most of his family, was burnt in her. Of the other four, one was sunk in the fight, another made her escape, and two were taken; on board one of which was the son of the said Marquis. It was reported, that, in the two ships taken, there was found about three millions in bullion; which was brought in triumph by carts from Portsmouth to London, in order to be coined at the Tower.

The siege of Dunkirk being undertaken by the French, their confederate Cromwel sent a body of men in number about 6000, for the most part foot, to their assistance. The cavalier party, under the Duke of York, joined themselves to the Spaniards, who endeavoured with an army to relieve the place; and having sent a party to possess themselves of a sand-hill,  
so

To galled the English from thence, that they resolved, if possible, to remove them from that post. The ground was so deep and loose, that they could not without extreme difficulty march up the hill; yet at last they effected it; and, having put the Spaniards to flight, pursued them to their main body. But having engaged themselves too far, and being overpowered by great numbers of horse and foot, (the French leaving the whole stress of the fight upon them), they were in danger of being entirely cut off; which being perceived by Maj.-Gen. Drummond, a Scots officer, who served with the English as a voluntier, he rode up to the French horse, and, by reproaching them with treachery and negligence, procured a party of horse to be sent to their succour. Upon the arrival of this seasonable relief, the English took fresh courage, renewed their attack, and killed a great number of the enemy. Many of those that were killed on the enemy's side were English and Irish, that fought under the Duke of York. And as it was confessed by all present, that the English who took part with the French behaved themselves with more bravery than any in the field that day; so it was observed, that those of the cavalier-party who had joined with the Spaniards, behaved themselves worst. Soon after this battle, the town of Dunkirk was surrendered to the French, and delivered into the hands of the English, as it had been agreed between Cromwel and Cardinal Mazarine.

It being thought fit to fortify divers places of importance in Scotland, Cromwel appointed a considerable sum of money to be expended on the works of Air, Dundee, Leith, St. Johnston,  
Vol. II. K Stirling,

Stirling, &c. and had so balanced the several interests in his councils there, that though Monk generally favoured the more loose and vitious party amongst the Scots; yet there were not wanting some who supported an honest sort of men, that were not willing to permit their King to return without conditions. The Lord Broghill had been of great use to moderate these two parties: but being much afflicted with the gout, and the air of Scotland not agreeing with his distempered body, he desired Cromwel to grant him leave to return to Ireland, according to his promise, the year of his residence in Scotland being now expired. Cromwel not willing to comply with his desires in this particular, dispatched instructions to his son Henry, in Ireland, by all means to procure a petition from the discontented party, against the Lord Broghill's return thither. To this end, Sir Hardress Waller, suspecting that the presence of this Lord might eclipse his greatness, became an earnest solicitor to Adjutant-General Allen, and Quartermaster-General Vernon, to join in a petition to that effect. But they perceiving the design, not only refused so to do; but plainly told him, that they were ready to join in a petition for his coming, it being impossible to be worse with them than now it was. This discourse being reported to Col. Henry Cromwel, with an insinuation, that it was to be suspected that there was some design carrying on by the Lord Broghill and the dissatisfied party in Ireland, he sent an account of it to his father; and desired, that he would not by any means permit him to return thither.

Divers conspiracies that had been formed against the government of the usurper being already ready

ready defeated, and the authors of them for the most part punished, he was prevailed with to permit Maj.-Gen. Harrison and Mr. Carew, whom he had sent to remote confinements, to be prisoners at their own habitations; and accordingly he ordered Maj. Strange to go to Carisbrook castle, and to bring the Major-General from thence to his house at Highgate; where, when I was acquainted with his arrival, I went to make him a visit; and having told him, that I was very desirous to be informed by him of the reasons that moved him to join with Cromwel in the interruption of the civil authority, he answered, that he had done it, because he was fully persuaded they had not a heart to do any more good for the Lord and his people. "Then, said I, are you not now convinced of your error, in entertaining such thoughts, especially since it has been seen what use has been made of the usurped power?" To which he replied, "Upon their heads be the guilt, who have made a wrong use of it; for my own part, my heart was upright and sincere in the thing." I answered, That I conceived it not to be sufficient in matters of so great importance to mankind, to have only good intentions and designs, unless there be also probable means of attaining those ends by the methods we enter upon; and though it should be granted, that the parliament was not inclined to make so full a reformation of things amiss as might be desired, yet I could not doubt that they would have done as much good for us, as the nation was fitted to receive: and therefore that extraordinary means ought not to have been used, till it had been clearly evident that the ordinary had failed; especially

K 2

since

since it could not but be manifest to every man, who observed the state of our affairs, that, upon the suppression of the civil authority, the power would immediately devolve upon that person who had the greatest interest in the army. His second reason for joining with Cromwel was, because he pretended to own and favour a sort of men, who acted upon higher principles than those of civil liberty. I replied, That I thought him mistaken in that also; since it had not appeared that he ever approved of any persons or things farther than he might make them subservient to his own ambitious designs; reminding him, that the generality of the people that had engaged with us having acted upon no higher principles than those of civil liberty, and that they might be governed by their own consent, it could not be just to treat them in another manner upon any pretences whatsoever. The Major-General then cited a passage of the Prophet Daniel, where it is said, *That the saints shall take the kingdom, and possess it.* To which he added another to the same effect, *That the kingdom shall not be left to another people.* I answered, That the same Prophet says in another place, *That the kingdom shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High;* and that I conceived, if they should presume to take it before it was given, they would at the best be guilty of doing evil, that good might come from it; for to deprive those of their right in the government, who had contended for it equally with ourselves, were to do as we would not that others should do to us: that such proceedings are not only unjust, but also impracticable, at least for the present; because we cannot perceive, that

that the saints are clothed with such a spirit, as those are required to be to whom the kingdom is promised : and therefore we may easily be deceived in judging who are fit for government ; for many have taken upon them the form of saintship, that they might be admitted to it, who yet have not acted suitably to their pretensions in the sight of God or men ; for proof of which we need go no further than to those very persons who had drawn him to assist them in their design of exalting themselves, under the specious pretence of advancing the kingdom of Christ. He confessed himself not able to answer the arguments I had used ; yet said, he was not convinced that the texts of scripture quoted by him were not to be interpreted in the sense he had taken them ; and therefore desired a farther conference with me at another time, when each of us might be accompanied with some friends to assist us in the clearing of this matter. I consented to his proposal, and so we parted ; but from that time forward we had not an opportunity to discourse farther upon this subject.

About the same time Mr. Peters, who still kept fair with those at Whitehall, made me a visit ; and, in our conversation about the public affairs, I freely told him my opinion concerning the actions of Cromwel ; endeavouring to make him sensible, not only of his injustice, but great imprudence, thus to sacrifice the common cause to his ambition, and by every step he had lately taken to strengthen the hands of the common enemy ; whereby he would undoubtedly open a way for the return of the family of the late King, who would not fail to do all that revenge could inspire them with : whereas, if he had made use

of his power to establish the just liberties of the nation, or could yet be persuaded so to do, he might live more honoured and esteemed, have the pleasure and satisfaction arising from so generous an action, when he died, and leave his own family, together with the whole body of the people, in a most happy and flourishing condition. He confessed, that what I had said was most true; but added, that there was not a man about him who had courage enough to tell him so: that, for his part, he had observed him immediately after the victory at Worcester to be so elevated, that he then began to fear what was since come to pass; and that he told a friend with whom he then quartered in his return to London, that he was inclined to believe Cromwel would endeavour to make himself King.

The usurper having governed, as he thought, long enough by virtue of the instrument of government, which though drawn up by himself and his creatures, was now thought to lay too great a restraint upon his ambitious spirit; and resolving to rest satisfied with nothing less than the succession of his family to the crown, he attempted to make himself King. To this end he thought it necessary to call a parliament; and that he might engage the army to assist him in all parts to procure such men to be chosen as would be fit for his purpose, he pretended that this assembly was called only in order to raise money for the payment of the army and fleet, to confirm the authority of the Major-Generals, and that of the instrument of government. By this means he obtained his desires in a great measure; especially in Scotland and Ireland, where all kinds of artifice, and in many places the most irregular



irregular courses, were taken to get such men returned as were proposed by the court. But knowing the people of England not to be of so mercenary a spirit; and that as they were better instructed in the principles of civil liberty, so they were not wanting in courage to assert it, he used his utmost endeavours to disable and incapacitate such men from being chosen whom he thought most likely to obstruct his designs. In order to this, he summoned the Lord President Bradshaw, Sir Henry Vane, Col. Rich, and myself, to appear before him in council; which we all did, except Sir Henry Vane, who told the messenger he should be at his house at Charing-cross on a certain day. Cromwel, as soon as he saw the Lord President, required him to take out a new commission for his office of Chief Justice of Chester; which he refused, alledging that he held that place by a grant from the parliament of England to continue *quamdiu se bene gesserit*. And whether he had carried himself with that integrity which his commission exacted from him, he was ready to submit to a trial by twelve Englishmen, to be chosen even by Cromwel himself. Col. Rich being pressed to give security not to act against the government, and refusing so to do, was sent prisoner to Windsor castle. Then I drew near to the council-table; where Cromwel charged me with dispersing treasonable books in Ireland, and with endeavouring to render the officers of the army disaffected, by discoursing to them concerning new models of government. I acknowledged, that I had caused some papers to be dispersed in Ireland; but denied that they justly could be called treasonable. And though I knew not that it was a crime

10

to debate of the several forms of government, yet that I had not done any thing of that nature lately, to the best of my remembrance. He then said, That he was not ignorant of the many plots that were on foot to disturb the present power, and that he thought it his duty, to secure such as he suspected. To this I replied, That there were two duties required by God of the magistrate, *i.e.* that he be a terror to those that do evil, and a praise to such as do well; and whether my actions were good or bad, I was ready to submit to a legal trial: that I was ignorant of any other way to secure the magistrate from being afraid of the people, or the people from the dread of the magistrate, unless both will do that which is just and good. “You do well,” said he, to reflect on our fears; yet I would have you know, that what I do, proceeds not from any motive of fear, but from a timely prudence to foresee and prevent danger: that, had I done as I should, I ought to have secured you immediately upon your coming into England, or at least when you desired to be freed from the engagement you had given after your arrival: and therefore I now require you to give assurance not to act against the government.” I desired to be excused in that particular, reminding him of the reasons I had formerly given him for my refusal; adding, that I was in his power, and that he might use me as he thought fit. “Pray then, said he, what is it that you would have? May not every man be as good as he will? What can you desire more than you have?” “It were easy,” said I, to tell what we would have.” “What is that, I pray?” said he. “That which

“ which we fought for, said I, that the nation  
“ might be governed by its own consent.”  
“ I am, said he, as much for a government by  
“ consent as any man : but where shall we find  
“ that consent? Amongst the Prelatical, Pre-  
“ sbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, or Le-  
“ velling parties ?” I answered, “ Amongst  
“ those of all sorts who had acted with fidelity  
“ and affection to the public.” Then he fell  
into the commendation of his own govern-  
ment, boasting of the protection and quiet which  
the people enjoyed under it, saying that he was  
resolved to keep the nation from being imbrued  
in blood. I said, that I was of opinion too much  
blood had been already shed, unless there were  
a better account of it. “ You do well, said he,  
“ to charge us with the guilt of blood ; but we  
“ think there is a good return for what hath  
“ been shed ; and we understand what clan-  
“ destine correspondences are carrying on at  
“ this time between the Spaniard and those of  
“ your party, who make use of your name, and  
“ affirm that you will own them and assist  
“ them.” “ I know not, said I, what you  
“ mean by my party ; and can truly say, that  
“ if any men have entered into an engagement  
“ with Spain, they have had no advice from  
“ me so to do ; and that if they will use my  
“ name, I cannot help it.” Then, in a softer  
way, he told me, that he desired not to put any  
more hardships on me than on himself ; that he  
had been always ready to do me all the good of-  
fices that lay in his power ; and that he aimed  
at nothing by this proceeding, but the public  
quiet and security. “ Truly, Sir, said I, I know  
“ not why you should be an enemy to me, who  
“ have

“ have been faithful to you in all your difficulties.” “ I understand not, said he, what you mean by my difficulties. I am sure they were not so properly mine as those of the public ; for, in respect to my outward condition, I have not much improved it ; as these Gentlemen, pointing to his council, well know.” To which they seemed to assent, by rising from their chairs : and therefore I thought not fit to insist farther on that point ; contenting myself to say, that it was from that duty which I owed to the public, whereof he expressed such a peculiar regard, that I durst not give the security he desired ; because I conceived it to be against the liberty of the people, and contrary to the known law of England. For proof of this I produced an act of parliament for restraining the council-table from imprisoning any of the free-born people of England ; and, in case they should do so, requiring the Justices of the Upper Bench, upon the application of the aggrieved party, to grant his *Habeas corpus*, and to give him considerable damages. To this act I supposed he gave his free vote ; assuring him, that, for my own part, I durst not do any thing that should tend to the violation of it. “ But, said he, did not the army and council of state commit persons to prison ?” I answered, “ That the council of state did so, but it was by virtue of an authority granted to them by the parliament ; and if the army had sometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of war, and then only in order to bring the persons secured to a legal trial ; whereas it is now pretended that we live in a time of peace, and are to be governed by the known laws of  
 “ the

“ the land.” “ A Justice of Peace, said he,  
“ may commit, and shall not I?” “ He is,  
“ said I, a legal officer, and authorised by the  
“ law to do so; which you could not be, though  
“ you were King; because, if you do wrong  
“ therein, no remedy can be had against you.  
“ Therefore, if I have offended against the law,  
“ I desire to be referred to a Justice of the Peace,  
“ that I may be proceeded with according to  
“ law; but if I have done nothing to deserve a  
“ restraint, that then I may have my liberty.”  
Whereupon being commanded to withdraw into  
a room next to the council-chamber, I heard  
Maj.-Gen. Lambert to advise, that I might be  
peremptorily required to give the security de-  
manded. But Cromwel said, that the air of  
Ireland was good, that I had a house there; and  
therefore he thought it best to send me thither.  
Immediately after, Mr. Scobel, one of the clerks  
of the council, came to me, and acquainted me,  
that I might return to my lodging. Where I had  
not been a quarter of an hour, before Mr. Strick-  
land, one of the council, came to me, and pres-  
sed me earnestly to comply. But I told him,  
that having contended for the liberty of others,  
I was not willing to give away my own, and to  
be made a precedent to the prejudice of my  
countrymen, because it was the pleasure of those  
that had the sword to have it so. “ Why, said  
“ he, was it not the sword by which you kept  
“ Wardour castle, and by which you acted du-  
“ ring the whole course of the late war?” “ I  
“ had, said I, the authority of the parliament  
“ to justify me in so doing.” He answered,  
“ But they governed by the sword.” To which  
I replied, That indeed they made use of the  
sword

sword to remove the *obstructions* that were in the way of the civil government, and exercised that power to vindicate and establish the law of the land; and that I was heartily sorry to see one who had been so forward in the cause of the public, not to discern any difference between a sword in the hands of a parliament to restore the people to their ancient rights, and a sword in the hands of a tyrant to rob and despoil them thereof. Here our discourse was interrupted by a messenger, who came from the council with an order from them, to require me to give the security of 5000 l. within three days after the date of the order, not to do any thing prejudicial to the present government; and, in case of failure, to be taken into custody. Upon the receipt of it, I told the messenger, that having no power to resist, I must submit to their pleasure. A day or two after the expiration of the time limited by the order for giving the demanded security, which I had not done, Serjeant Dendy came to me, with an order from the council, signed by Henry Lawrence President, requiring and authorising him to take me into custody. Having shewn me the order, he desired me to make choice of a chamber; but, after some discourse with my near relations, who were then present, he was contented to let me remain at my lodgings. So having promised to return in a day or two, and in the mean time to advise with Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, he went away. The next day Cromwel diverting himself with hunting at Hampton-court, asked my brother Thomas Ludlow, who was in the company, if he were not angry with him for committing me? and my brother answering, That it was not fit for him  
to

no judge concerning his actions; he thereupon assured him, that he wished me as well as any of his own children; that his desiring me to give security for my own carriage to the government, was designed by him as well for my good as for his own security, and that he would have him to engage for me: to which he most readily consented. The morning following, my brother came to me; and having acquainted me with what had passed between Cromwel and himself, I gave him thanks for his kind offer; but withal told him, that I would by no means desire that of him which I was not willing to do myself. Besides, I told him, that should it be granted that the thing were fit for him to do, yet it might prove a snare to him, and lay an obligation upon him to gratify the usurper in another way. However, after this discourse of Cromwel to my brother, and the conference of my relations with Serjeant Dendy, I ventured to accompany my father and mother Oldsworth, with my wife, into Essex; where we spent the remaining part of that summer. My stay there did in some measure answer the design of Cromwel, which was to keep me out of my own country, where he doubted I might obstruct the election of such persons as the court had resolved by all methods to procure to be returned. But there was no need to fear my intermeddling in that particular, at such a time: and if I had, it should have been only to give a public testimony against any election at all; the long parliament being still in being, though under a present force. Besides, it was manifest, that the designed assembly was to be called for no other end than to strengthen the sword, and to advance

vance the corrupt interest of him that called them together; and if it should happen that they had either the courage or honesty to attempt any thing for the service of the public, I was assured their endeavours would be rendered fruitless by a sudden dissipation.

Sir Henry Vane, according to his promise, being come to his house near Charing-cross, the council sent a messenger thither to require him to attend them; which he did; and was there charged by Cromwel with disaffection to the government, which he had demonstrated by a late writing published by him, with a seditious intention. The paper was called, *A healing question proposed and resolved*; and contained the state of our controversy with the King, the present deviation from that cause for which we engaged, and the means to unite all parties in attaining the accomplishment of it. It was written upon an invitation given in a declaration published by Cromwel for a general fast, wherein it was desired, that the people would apply themselves to the Lord to discover that Achan which had so long obstructed the settlement of these distracted nations. When it was finished, he shewed it to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood; who, seeming to approve it, desired to take it with him, and promised to communicate it to Cromwel, upon the first opportunity that should be offered. Sir Henry did not disown either his dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs, or the publication of the discourse before mentioned. So that Cromwel thought fit to require him, by a day limited, to give security not to act against him. Which time being expired, he appeared again before the council; and delivered into Cromwel's own hand



hand another paper, containing the reasons of his disapproving the present usurpation, and a friendly advice to him to return to his duty, with some justification of his own conduct with relation to the public. But notwithstanding all this, and divers reasons alledged by him to excuse himself from giving the demanded security, he was sent prisoner to Carisbrook castle in the Isle of Wight. The President Bradshaw, notwithstanding what had passed, resolved to go his circuit as Chief Justice of Chester, unless he should be prevented by force. But it was thought more advisable to permit him to execute his office, than, by putting a stop to his circuit, to make a breach with those of the long robe, whose assistance was so necessary to the carrying on of Cromwel's design. Yet, that neither he, nor, if possible, any other persons who had continued faithful to the commonwealth, might be chosen members of the approaching assembly, letters were dispatched to all parts of England, to give notice that it would be resented, if such persons were elected; one of which was publicly read at the election for Chester, to deter men from appearing for the President. In Wiltshire, a more numerous party appearing for me than was expected, they were assured by some creatures of Cromwel, that I was a prisoner in the Tower; and by one who had formerly served under me, that I had declared to him that I would not be chosen. Yet, for all this, the people persisting in their resolution to elect me, the Deputy Major-General of the county demanded of them, whether they intended to have a new war, that they designed to make choice of me? By such arts the emissaries of the court.

caused the elections in most places to be decided in favour of such as pleased them. For my own part, though I had resolved not to stand, for reasons which I mentioned before, and on that account had not directly or indirectly spoken or written to any person to appear for me; yet I must acknowledge I was not dissatisfied that so considerable a number of my countrymen were not afraid to own and accept that service (how small soever) that I had done in the common cause. The court finding by the lists they had received, that, notwithstanding all their menaces, promises, and other artifices, divers persons were chosen whom they knew to be no favourers of the usurpation, resolved to clear their hands of them at once. And to that end, under colour of a clause in the instrument of government, that none should be admitted to places of power and trust, but such as were men of sincerity and integrity, they gave an exclusion to Sir Arthur Haslerig and Mr. Scot, with as many more as they thought fit. By this means, and the refusal of others to take out their permissions to sit from Cromwel and his council, as was required, lest they should seem to countenance such a detestable imposition, and open breach of privilege, it came to pass, that about a hundred of those who were elected by the country, were excluded from the discharge of their trust; whilst those for Ireland and Scotland, who were chosen by and for the sword, were admitted without any scruple. Those that were excluded, presented a petition to the sitting members, acquainting them, that being chosen by the country to serve with them, they were ready to discharge their duty; but were prevented from

from doing the same by the power of the sword, and refused admittance into the house by a guard of soldiers. After the petition had been read, a committee was sent to inquire of Cromwel and his council concerning the reasons of that proceeding; who returned with this answer, That if the persons complaining would address themselves to them, they should be relieved if there was cause. With this answer these men who would be accounted an English parliament acquiesced, leaving their privileges unvindicated, and the merit of elections to parliament to be adjudged by men without doors. Then they proceeded to prepare divers bills; which tended chiefly to gratify the soldiery, and such persons as had received grants of land from Cromwel and his council, which were confirmed to them. Yet, for all this harmony, there were sometimes bitter reflexions cast upon the proceedings of the Major-Generals by the lawyers and country Gentlemen, who accused them to have done many things oppressive to the people, in interrupting the course of the law, and threatening such as would not submit to their arbitrary orders, with transportation beyond the seas. On the other hand, the Major-Generals insisted vehemently with the assembly to confirm the instrument of government, and to establish their authority in particular. And when it was proposed by some who were unwilling to settle such an arbitrary power by a law, that to compose these differences an act of indemnity should be granted for what was past, one of the Major-Generals had the insolence to say, they would not thank them for that; for whilst they had their swords by their sides, they could protect and indemnify

L 3

themselves.

themselves. So confident was the soldiery grown, that they durst openly avow themselves to be our lords and masters. But the lawyers and others of the assembly having privately received encouragement from those who were more powerful than the Major-Generals, desisted not from endeavouring the suppression of their authority, loading them with many heavy accusations; for which they had given but too just cause. Yet the Major-Generals, confident of the strength of their party, moved for a day when the instrument of government, and the confirmation of their power, should be debated: which having obtained, and the time come, they moved that the whole instrument might be confirmed at once; but that being rejected, it was debated in parts. When the power of the Major-Generals came under consideration, all men were in great expectation concerning the issue of it. It was supposed, that Cromwel, who had erected their authority, and engaged them in those actions for which they were now become odious, would support them against all attempts; because there appeared now no way so probable to maintain his own power, as by keeping the army firmly united to him. But ambition had corrupted his understanding to that degree, that he made no scruple to sacrifice these men, who, to say no worse, had enlarged their consciences to an extraordinary size in the execution of his orders, to those who, in requital of the favour, had promised to make him King. Hitherto he had given good words to the Major-Generals: but when their power came to be debated, Mr. Cleypole, his son-in-law, first stood up, which was unusual for him to do at all; and told the house, that

that he could but start the game, and must leave those who had more experience to follow the chase; and therefore should only say, that he had formerly thought it necessary, in respect to the condition in which the nation had been, that the Major-Generals should be intrusted with the authority which they had exercised; but, in the present state of affairs, he conceived it inconsistent with the laws of England, and liberties of the people, to continue their power any longer. This motion was a clear direction to the sycophants of the court; who, being fully persuaded that Cleypole had delivered the sense, if not the very words of Cromwel in this matter, joined as one man in opposing the Major-Generals; and so their authority was abrogated.

Soon after, Col. William Jephson, one of the members that served for Ireland, moved in the house, that Cromwel might be made King: but matters not being thoroughly concerted, it had no other effect than to sound the inclinations of the assembly. Cromwel having notice of this motion, as he had of every thing that passed, reproved the Colonel gently at table for it; telling him, that he wondered what he could mean by such a proposition. To which the other answered, That whilst he was permitted the honour of sitting in that house, he must desire the liberty to discharge his conscience, though his opinion should happen to displease. Whereupon Cromwel clapping him on the shoulder, said, "Get thee gone for a mad fellow, as thou art." But it soon appeared with what madness he was possessed: for he immediately obtained a foot-company for his son, then a scholar at Oxford, and a troop of horse for himself; and not long  
after

after was sent agent to the crown of Sweden, with a considerable allowance appointed to defray the expences of his journey thither.

Many objections being made in the house against the instrument of government, Cromwel, who was vehemently desirous to be a King, began to think it altogether insignificant to that purpose, and that it would be more conducing to his design if a new form were drawn up, and presented to the assembly for their approbation. Accordingly it was prepared by his creatures, and brought into the house by Mr. Pack, an Alderman of London; where it was without much difficulty read, and appeared to be a shoe fitted to the foot of a monarch, though at present a blank was left for the title of the single person, who, with two houses, was to have the supreme legislative power.

Those who were of the Major-Generals and soldiers party, finding that Cromwel was abandoning them to espouse another interest, struck in with those who still retained some affection to the commonwealth; and all together perceiving that these new measures had been advised by the craft of our old enemy, to make use of Cromwel's ambition as the only probable means to reduce us to our former servitude, fell so furiously upon Pack for his great presumption in bringing a business of that nature into the house in such an unparliamentary way, that they bore him down from the Speaker's chair to the bar of the house of Commons. But this heat being soon over, the Lord Broghill, Serjeant Glynn, and others, who were acquainted with Cromwel's design, endeavoured to persuade the house to debate the new form; telling them, that, being  
masters

masters of their own resolutions, they might retain as much of it as was good, and reject what was not so. By this means they brought it to be debated: and though they received some opposition therein, yet when it came to be put to the question, they carried all before them; and grew so hardy to move, that the blank left for the insertion of the title of the chief magistrate, might be filled up with the name of KING. This motion, though earnestly opposed by Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, was carried also, and the name voted; together with the filling up the two blanks left for the two houses, with the words, *House of Commons*, and *Other house*. The latter of these was resolved to consist of seventy persons, to be nominated by Cromwel, and to be approved by the assembly then sitting. But Cromwel being acquainted with that resolution, and disliking it, as unreasonable that Gentlemens names should be canvassed, and it may be their persons reflected on in a public assembly, he obtained it to be left to him to appoint whom he should think fit to compose that *Other house*. He told them also, that the provision made for his expence, and for maintaining the army and fleet, was not sufficient, and thereby procured a great sum of money to be added to that which at first they designed. Yet for all this he scrupled to take upon him the title of King, as a thing scandalous, and of great hazard; though at the same time he vilified the former instrument of government to the last degree; and, after having so highly magnified it when it was established, he compared it now to a rotten plank, on which if a man set his foot, it will break, and leave him. The assembly well understanding that

that the cause of his delays was either to be importuned to the thing, or to get time to persuade the army to be of the same opinion with himself, appointed a committee of their own members to give him their reasons for accepting this title. Amongst others, the Lord Broghill much pressed that passage brought by the Apostle in the dispute concerning the abolition of the Jewish worship by the new and living way revealed in Jesus Christ, illustrated by the wife that was put away, who might yet be retaken by her former husband, if she was not married to another; applying this similitude to the present occasion, as if there was no other way to keep out Charles Stuart, but by filling his place with another King. Mr. Lenthal's argument was very parliamentary and rational, had it been rightly applied; for he pressed him to accept of it, because it was proposed to him by the parliament, as he was pleased to call it; whom, he said, he ought not to deny. But he was now arrived to that height of vanity, that though the design of this argument was only to persuade him to accept that which he desired above all things in the word; yet, conceiving it below his grandeur to acknowledge such a prerogative in the parliament alone, he expressed his dislike of it. And though he owned that the reasons they had offered had much weight in them, and that he was convinced there was no evil in the thing; yet he could not think it expedient to accept their offer, because he found that many of the good people of the nation were dissatisfied with it. With this answer he dismissed them for the present, and appointed them to attend him again. In the mean time, he endeavoured, by all



all possible means, to prevail with the officers of the army to approve his design; and knowing that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood and Col. Desborough were particularly averse to it, he invited himself to dine personally with the Colonel, and carried the Lieutenant-General with him; where he began to droll with them about monarchy, and, speaking slightly of it, said it was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore wondered that men would not please the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But he received from them, as Col. Desborough since told me, such an answer as was not at all suitable to his expectations or desires: for they assured him, that there was more in this matter than he perceived; that those who put him upon it, were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends. Having thus sounded their inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them they were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so departed. The next day he sent a message to the house, to require their attendance in the Painted chamber the next morning; designing, as all men believed, there to declare his acceptance of the crown. But, in the mean time, meeting with Col. Desborough in the great walk of the park, and acquainting him with his resolution, the Colonel made answer, That he then gave the cause, and Cromwel's family also, for lost; adding, that though he was resolved never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time. So, after some other discourse upon the same subject, Desborough went home, and there found Col. Pride, whom Cromwel had knighted with

with a faggot-stick ; and having imparted to him the design of Cromwel to accept the crown, Pride answered, "He shall not." "Why, said the Colonel, how wilt thou hinder it?" To which Pride replied, "Get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it." Whereupon they both went to Dr. Owen ; and having acquainted him with what had happened, they persuaded him to draw a petition according to their desires. Whilst this was doing, Cromwel having reflected on his discourse with Col. Desborough, and being informed that Lambert, and divers other officers, were dissatisfied with his design, sent a message to put off the meeting in the Painted chamber, and to desire that the house would send a committee to confer with him about the great business that was then depending; intending thereby to gain time, in which he might be fitting the officers for his design. But the house being risen before his message arrived, and so out of a capacity to appoint any to come to him, the old committee that had been formerly appointed to that end, thought fit, by virtue of their general instructions, to wait on him to know his pleasure. Accordingly they came to Whitehall, where they attended about two hours ; and then a Barbary horse being brought into the garden for him to see, gave him an occasion to pass through the room where the committee was attending. As he was passing by without taking the least notice of them, one of the messengers put him in mind that they had attended very long ; which he slightly excusing, told them, that he thought the house being risen before his message came to them, had not empowered any persons to come to him. It was answered,

answered, That they came to him upon the general instructions which they had formerly received from the house. Upon which he told them, he would send to them some other time. The next morning the house being in great expectation of a message to appoint the time and place for the acceptance of what they had prepared, some officers of the army coming to the parliament-doors, sent in a message to Col. Desborough, to acquaint him, that they had a petition which they desired him to present to the house. But he knowing the contents of it, and conceiving it unfit for him to take public notice of it before it was presented, acquainted the house, that certain officers of the army had a petition to present to them. Which having done, and every one supposing that the desires of the officers were conformable to their own, Cromwel's party concluding that no part of the army durst appear for the crossing his design; it was generally agreed, that they should be called in, and have leave to present it with their own hands. Lt-Col. Mason was chosen by the rest of the officers to deliver the petition; which when he had done, and the officers withdrawn, it was read. The contents of it were to this purpose: " That they had hazarded their lives  
" against monarchy, and were still ready so to  
" do, in defence of the liberties of the nation :  
" that having observed in some men great en-  
" deavours to bring the nation again under their  
" old servitude, by pressing their General to  
" take upon him the title and government of a  
" King, in order to destroy him, and weaken  
" the hands of those who were faithful to the  
" public ; they therefore humbly desired, that  
Vol. II. M " they

“ they would discountenance all such persons  
 “ and endeavours, and continue stedfast to the  
 “ old cause; for the preservation of which, they,  
 “ for their parts, were most ready to lay down  
 “ their lives.” This petition was subscribed by two Colonels, seven Lieutenant-Colonels, eight Majors, and sixteen Captains; who, with such officers in the house as were of the same opinion, made up the majority of those relating to that part of the army which was then quartered about the town. It is difficult to determine whether the house or Cromwel was more surprised at this unexpected address; but certainly both were infinitely disturbed at it. As soon as the notice of it was brought to Cromwel, he sent for Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, and told him, that he wondered he would suffer such a petition to proceed so far, which he might have hindered, since he knew it to be his resolution not to accept the crown without the consent of the army; and therefore desired him to hasten to the house, and to put them off from doing any thing farther therein. The Lieutenant-General immediately went thither; and told them, that the petition ought not to be debated, much less to be answered at this time, the contents of it being to desire them not to press the Protector to be King; whereas the present business was, to receive his answer to what had been formerly offered to him; and therefore desired that the debate of it might be put off, till they had received his answer. To this the house having consented, they received a message from Cromwel, that, instead of meeting him in the Painted chamber, which was the place where he used to give his consent, they would meet him in the  
 Banqueting-

Banqueting-house. So the members came to Whitehall; and Cromwel, with great ostentation of his self-denial, refused the title of King.

The grand design of the usurper having miscarried, the people were full of expectation to see what form of government the men of the sword would erect next. For as Cromwel had used all imaginable art and industry to throw dirt on all that had preceeded, and most of all on the instrument of government, which he was once so fond of, and yet now alledged that it neither provided for the safety of the governors or governed; so the present assembly had openly declared against the family of the Stuarts. But the restitution of the commonwealth being the thing that was principally dreaded by these self-interested men, it was so contrived and carried, that the house shall present their humble petition and advice to him again, with the sole alteration of the word *King* into that of *Protector*. This resolution was the more easily obtained, because the commonwealth's men had been, under various frivolous pretences, denied their places in the assembly; so that those only who were for a Protector with an army, or those who were for King Oliver with an army, were the persons that were permitted to dispute within those walls. And now Cromwel having manifested his weakness, as well as his ambition, in the late intrigue, was glad to take what he could get, and without any dispute agreed to what was proposed to him by the assembly. Which being done, the time was appointed for vesting him with the authority which was to be conferred upon him, and Westminster-hall was the place where the solemnity was performed.

The Aldermen of London and the Judges, rather moved by fear than affection, were prevailed to be present; and Sir Thomas Widdrington, who was Speaker of the assembly, was ordered to administer an oath to him, and to present him with a sword, a sceptre, and a Bible. The pretended Protector was clothed with a purple robe lined with ermins, the train of which was held by the son of the Lord Robartes. Of all the Nobility, the Earl of Warwick was the only person that accompanied him; and because he would still retain a form of godliness, he appointed Mr. Lockyer to preach before him at his return to Whitehall. The next day after this solemnity, a feast was prepared for the assembly and officers of the army; at which it was observed Maj.-Gen. Lambert was not present, whereby it was suspected that he was declining in favour for obstructing Cromwel's design of being King: for, as I have been informed by a person deserving credit, the Major-General did take the liberty, when that question was on foot, to tell Cromwel, that if he accepted the crown, he could not assure the army to him.

By the *Humble Petition and Advice*, for so was this new instrument called, among other things it was provided, that an oath should be taken by those of the assembly and council, not to do any thing against the present government, and to be true and faithful to the Protector, according to the law of the land. This oath Maj.-Gen. Lambert refused. Whereupon Cromwel sent for him, and told him, that he was well assured his refusal proceeded not on account of this new authority; for he might remember, that he himself did at the first press him to accept the title of

of King : and therefore, if he was now dissatisfied with the present posture of affairs, he desired him to surrender his commission. To this the Major-General answered, That having no suspicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it; but if he pleased to send for it, he should deliver it : which two or three days after was done; and so his pay as Colonel of a regiment of horse, as Colonel of a regiment of foot, and as Major-General of the army, was struck off; together with 10 l. by day, which was the General's pay, and which Cromwel allowed him, to keep him firm to his interest. But Cromwel did not think it safe to disgust him entirely; and therefore thought it expedient to allow him a pension of 2000 l. by year, to keep him from any desperate undertaking.

Sir Henry Vane being still a prisoner in Carisbrook castle, an order was sent thither from the council to bring him from thence, and to permit him to enjoy his liberty, which was done; and he arrived at London in a short time after; where he met with another kind of persecution : for Cromwel perceiving that the former method had proved unsuccessful, privately encouraged some of the army to take possession of certain forest-walks belonging to Sir Henry Vane near the castle of Raby; and also gave order to the Attorney-General, on pretence of a flaw in his title to a great part of his estate, to present a bill against him in the exchequer. This was designed to oblige him to expose his title; which if they could get done, they doubted not, by the craft of the lawyers, to find some defect in it, whereby it was hoped he would be

forced into a compliance: yet at the same time he was privately informed, that he should be freed from this, or any other inquisition, and that he should have whatsoever else he would desire, in case he would comply with the present authority.

The assembly having provided supplies for the army, and referred other things to the conduct of Cromwel, adjourned themselves for some months; during which time Cromwel endeavoured to make up a collection of men of all interests, to fill that which was called *the other house*. The principal part of them were such as had procured their present possessions by their wits, and were resolved to enlarge them by selling their consciences for the purchase of his favour. With these were joined some of the ancient Nobility, together with some of the Gentry, who had considerable estates derived to them from their ancestors; such were Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Alexander Popham, Sir Richard Onslow, Thomas Honeywood, Mr. Edmund Thomas, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and others. He sent also a summons, in the form of the ancient writ directed by the Kings of England to such as they called to the Lords house, to Sir Arthur Hasterig, who had always appeared a zealous assertor of the public liberty. Sir Arthur having received the summons from the messenger, who brought it to him into the country, dismissed him, without declaring his resolutions concerning it. Mr. William Lenthal, who had been Speaker of the parliament, was very much disturbed that a writ was not sent to him to enable him to sit in the other house. He complained, that he who had been for some years the first  
man



man of the nation, was now denied to be a member of either house of parliament; for he was incapable of sitting in the house of Commons, by his place as Master of the Rolls, whereby he was obliged to sit as assistant in the other house. This grievous complaint coming to the ears of Cromwel, he sent him a writ. Which so elevated the poor man, that riding in his coach through the Strand, and seeing Mr. Lambert Osbaldeston, formerly Master of the school at Westminster, whom he knew to be a great lover of Sir Arthur Haslerig, he asked him, what Sir Arthur designed to do in answer to the writ which he had received? and Mr. Osbaldeston answering, that he knew not what the intentions of Sir Arthur Haslerig were concerning it; he replied, "I pray write to him, and desire him  
" by no means to omit taking his place in that  
" house; and assure him from me, that all that  
" do so, shall themselves and their heirs be for  
" ever Peers of England."

The time for the meeting of these venerable assemblies being come, none of the ancient Nobility, except the Lord Eure, adventured to come into the other house. The Earl of Warwick himself, though he ventured to marry his grandson to one of Cromwel's daughters, would not be persuaded to sit with Col. Hewson and Col. Pride, whereof the one had been a shoemaker, and the other a drayman; and had they driven no worse trade, I know not why any good man should refuse to act with them. Divers of the Gentry did not appear; yet others, and particularly such as were related to those in power, were prevailed with to be of this assembly.

The

The door of the house of Commons, for so they would have it called, was now opened, and the guard removed, and every member admitted that took the oath prescribed by them before their adjournment. Most of the members who had been formerly excluded, took the oath also, and were admitted to sit in the house; where the addition of these last, together with the removal of those of the other house, who were for the most part taken out of this, made a considerable alteration in that body. Great expectations were raised to see what course Sir Arthur Haslerig would take; who being chosen by the people to sit in one assembly, and by Cromwel to sit in another, had not yet declared his intentions in that matter. He came to London as privately as he could. But the court having notice of his arrival, sent Col. Howard to his lodgings the next morning to feel his pulse; which he, suspecting something of that nature, avoided by going early abroad; and coming to the door of the house of Commons, procured some of his friends to give him the oath; then he took his place in the house without any dispute; as did also Mr. Scot, with divers others who had been formerly excluded by Cromwel and his council. There they began to call in question all that had been done in the former sessions, grounding their arguments on the force that was upon that assembly; whereby a great number of those who had as good a right to sit there as any others, were peremptorily refused to sit. Eight or ten days were spent in these debates; and in the mean time some petitions were carrying on, and subscribed by many thousands, to be presented to those who sat in the place

place where the parliament of England ought to be. Cromwel was not a little startled at these proceedings, suspecting that part of the army, especially those that were quartered about St. James's, were engaged therein; therefore, to prevent that which he feared, and which his conscience told him he had deserved, he took the inspection of the watch at Whitehall for several nights successively in his own person. And the alarm from abroad increasing daily, he resolved upon the dissolution of this assembly; intending as soon as they were dismissed, and the power devolved upon him again, to curb that spirit of liberty that had lately appeared, and to remove such officers from their commands in the army, whom he suspected to have had any hand in their late counsels. Whilst he was deliberating about the best means of effecting this design, fresh information was brought him concerning the diligence of his adversaries in all parts; which quickened him to that degree, that he would not stay for one of his own coaches, but taking the first that was at hand, with such guards as he could presently get together, he hurried to the other house. Whither being come, he imparted his intentions to dissolve that assembly to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood; who earnestly endeavouring to dissuade him from it, he clapped his hand upon his breast, and swore by the living God he would do it. Then he sent for the judges, and they being come, dispatched another message to the assembly to attend him presently. Many of them declined to come; and those that appeared, were very ill treated by him for obstructing that work, which he said was so well begun, in order to the settlement

tlement of the nation. On the other hand, he assured those whom he had called to his other house, that notwithstanding all the practices that had been used against them, they should continue to be Lords, and so dismissed both the assemblies to follow their own private affairs.

Cromwel having thus resumed the power into his own hands, made use of it to remove from the army such as he suspected to have obstructed his design. And beginning with his own regiment of horse, he sent for Col. Packer, who was the Major, and Capt. Gladman, who commanded his own troop, with the rest of the Captains of that regiment to attend him: whither being come, he demanded of them if they were willing to promise fidelity to the present government, and to fight against those that should oppose it. They answered, they were ready to fight against Charles Stuart, and that interest; but they could not engage against they knew not whom, and for they knew not what. But he provoked with this answer, dismissed them from their commands, and placed men that would obey without reserve in their room. By this and other means he lost the affections of great numbers of men, that would have been useful and faithful to him against the family of the late King. And it being well known, that he could not subsist at all without at least a mock-parliament, Mr. Henry Nevil, a hearty asserter of the commonwealth-interest, having been much injured by the Sheriff of Berkshire, in the last return for that county, commenced a suit against the said Sheriff, in order to deter others from the like foul practices for the future: but not being willing so far to acknowledge the present authority,

city, as to prefer his action upon the instrument of government, he was advised by Serj. Maynard, Mr. Allen of Grays-Inn, and some others, to bring his action of the case against the Sheriff. On the day of trial, Mr. Nevil desired Sir Arthur Hallerig, Sir James Harrington, Mr. Scot, myself, and some other members of the long parliament, to be present in the court; where, after all the objections made by the Sheriff's counsel against the declaration itself, and against the damages pretended by him for not being returned, were over-ruled by the court, they proceeded to hear the witnesses on both sides: which being done, the Chief Justice St. John's declared to the jury, how heinous a crime it was for a Sheriff, who being but a servant to the country, should presume to impose upon them such members as he pleased to serve in parliament, which was the bulwark of the people's liberties; adding farther, that if such practices should be allowed, the people would be out of hope to be relieved from their grievances. Then the jury retired, and having considered the depositions of the witnesses, and also what was said to them by the Chief Justice, they returned into court, and found the Sheriff guilty of the charge, and adjudged him to pay 1500 l. for damages to Mr. Nevil, and 100 l. to the commonwealth. This verdict was very grateful to those who wished well to the public, not only on the account of Mr. Nevil, who had entered into this contest to vindicate his country from oppression; but because it was hoped it would prove a means to deter other Sheriffs from doing the like for the future. But now the Chief Justice having, as he thought, sufficiently pleased the popular interest

interest by what he had said concerning the rights of the people, began to contrive means to gratify his master Cromwel, by whose order the Sheriff had acted; and to this end, upon the motion of the Sheriff's counsel, granted an arrest of judgment, and appointed a day in the next term to hear what could be said on each side. In the mean time, the Sheriff, and those who had promised to support him, applied themselves to Cromwel to interpose his authority in this matter, charging Mr. Nevil with many false and malicious aspersions; whilst the Sheriff improving the opportunity, conveyed away his real and personal estate. Endeavours were likewise used to take off Mr. Nevil, by compounding the business; but he preferring the advantage of the commonwealth before his private interest, refused to hearken to any overtures, till the judgment was recorded for an example to posterity, and then declared himself resolved to deal with the Sheriff as became him.

The state of affairs in Ireland was little different from that of England, and the army there as much disaffected to Cromwel's design of being King, as those of that profession at home. So that Col. Henry Cromwel, who had before courted the Sectarian party, and shewed much respect to Col. Zanchy, now began to caress Maj. Markham, Mr. Winter, and others of the Presbyterian interest, desiring them to join in an address to his father to stand by and defend him against his enemies. To which they answered, That if they knew who they were, they could be positive in their answer; but being altogether ignorant of the things they were required to engage for, and of the persons they were to engage against,

at last, they could by no means consent to his proposal. In the mean time, Cromwel was not mindful of securing the fleet to his interest: and therefore, suspecting that Gen. Blake was dissatisfied with his proceedings, joined Col. Montague, who was entirely his creature, and Col. Desborough, in commission with him; the latter only bearing the name, and managing with other commissioners the maritime affairs at home. It was easily perceived, that Montague was sent to sea with Blake to gain experience in those affairs, and to endeavour to get an interest in the seamen, that the credit of Blake might be the better balanced, or his person totally laid aside. But it pleased God that this work was in a short time done to their hands, Gen. Blake falling sick a little after of a distemper, whereby he died. The loss of this great man was lamented by Cromwel, much in the same manner as that of the Lord Deputy Ireton, and that also of Gen. Deane, had been.

Cromwel having been disappointed, as I formerly mentioned, in his endeavours of procuring a civil authority to countenance his arbitrary power, made it his business so to balance all interests, that they should not dare to oppose him, for fear of bringing themselves into a worse condition than that wherein they were. To this end, he gratified such of the Presbyterian party as were the most complying, and courted divers of the Nobility, particularly the Earl of Warwick, whose grandson was admitted to be a suitor to his youngest daughter. But because that this alliance was not at all grateful to some persons about him, he contrived to appear averse to the match; and then, by the management

Vol. II. N

ment of Sir Edward Sydenham, it was brought about, that the young couple were married without the knowledge of their parents: for which contrivance Sir Edward was for a time forbidden the court.

Notwithstanding these, and many other artifices used by him to support his usurpation, continual designs were set on foot against him. Some fifth-monarchy men, to the number of about 300, expecting extraordinary assistance from Heaven, had formed a design to dethrone him. But these he slighted, on account of the smallness of their number; and having some spies amongst them, who gave him intelligence of all their measures, he suffered them to go on till the night before that wherein they had appointed to rendezvous. At which time he sent a guard of soldiers, who seized the principal of them, as they were consulting about the manner of putting their enterprize in execution. Their declarations were also taken with them, and their standard, which had in it a lion couchant with these words, *Who shall rouse him up?* These men, being for the most part tradesmen, were carried prisoners to the Gatehouse; where they lay long in a miserable condition. Soon after this, some persons that used to meet in Coleman-street, to deplore the apostasy of the times, and particularly that of Whitehall, were seized by the Lord Mayor's officers, pursuant to Cromwel's orders, as they were coming out from their meeting-place. Amongst these was a Cornet, whose name was Day; and who being charged with saying, that Cromwel was a rogue and a traitor, confessed the words; and, to justify himself, said, that Cromwel had affirmed,



firmed, in the presence of himself, and divers other officers, that if he did oppress the conscientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away tithes by a certain time, now past, they should then have liberty to say he was a rogue and a traitor. He moved therefore, that he might be permitted to produce his witnesses, who were then present, to the particulars before mentioned. But the matter was so ordered, that he and some others were fined and imprisoned for their pretended misdemeanors. Another plot much more dangerous was about the same time carried on by the Royalists, and discovered to him by his spies. The persons concerned in it he used with more severity, because he accounted them to be of a more formidable party; and therefore referred them to be tried by those persons whom his last assembly had nominated to be a high court of justice. The prisoners were, Dr. Hewet, Sir Henry Slingsby, and Mr. Mordaunt, with some others of the meaner sort. The general charge against them, was for endeavouring to levy war against the government on the behalf of Charles Stuart. The particular charge against Dr. Hewet was, for dispersing commissions from the son of the late King, and persuading divers to raise forces by virtue of the same. That against Sir Henry Slingsby was, for attempting to debauch some of the garrison of Hull to the service of Charles Stuart, and delivering a commission from him to them. The prisoners of less note were charged with a design of firing the city in several places, at the time appointed for their party to be in arms. Dr. Hewet, being brought before the court, moved, that he might be tried by a

N 2

jury,

jury, and demurred to the jurisdiction of the court. But the court over-ruled his demurrer; and told him, that unless he would plead to his charge, they would cause his refusal to be entered, and proceed against him as if the fact were confessed. This being twice said to him, he was required the third time to plead. To which he answered, That if the judges would declare it to be according to law for him to plead, he would obey. But he was told, that the Gentlemen then present were his judges; and that if he would not plead, they would register his contempt the third time; and upon his refusal did so. Mr. Mordaunt, admonished by his example, pleaded Not guilty; and after a full hearing of the witnesses on both sides, the court acquitted him by one voice. Then Sir Henry Slingsby was called to the bar, and the witnesses on each side being heard, he was pronounced guilty; though in the opinion of many men he had very hard measure. For it appeared, that he was a prisoner at the time when he was charged to have practised against the government; that he was a declared enemy, and therefore by the laws of war free to make any such attempt. Besides, it was alledged, that the persons whom he was accused to have endeavoured to corrupt, had trappanned him by their promises to serve the King in delivering Hull, if he would give them a commission to act for him; which commission was an old one that had long lain by him. But all this being not thought sufficient to excuse him, he was adjudged to die. The rest of the prisoners were also condemned; and sentence of death being pronounced, Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet had

had the favour of being beheaded; and the others, being men of a lesser figure, were hanged. Cromwel's daughter and favourite, Mrs. Cleypole, laboured earnestly with her father to save the life of Dr. Hewet; but without success: which denial so afflicted her, that it was reported to have been one cause of her death, which happened soon after, with the concurrence of an ulcer in her womb.

The usurper, as he was thus prodigal of English blood, so was he no less profuse of the public treasure, in procuring intelligence from the Royal party abroad. To which end, he employed one Henry Manning, son to one Col. Richard Manning, a Papist, and formerly a Colonel in the late King's army, where he lost his life. This Gentleman he furnished with a considerable sum of money, and sent him to the place where the son of the late King then resided; where, when he arrived, he informed the exiles, that he was sent thither from some friends in England, that desired to have their names concealed. But having with him such good credentials as ready money, part whereof he gave to Charles Stuart, and distributed several lesser sums to his necessitous followers, he was easily admitted amongst them. It happened at that time, that a Gentleman who had served the late King, desired leave from Cromwel to travel; which he obtained, on condition he should not see the King; which he promised. Accordingly, when he arrived at Cologn, if I mistake not that was the place, he sent a message to the King, that he might be permitted to wait on him at night; which was granted: and having discoursed fully concerning the affairs he

N 3

came

came about, he took leave, and received a letter, which he sewed within the crown of his hat. Upon his return to England, he came with confidence to Cromwel; and being demanded by him, If he had punctually performed his promise? he answered, That he had. But, said Cromwel, who was it that put out the candles when you spoke to Charles Stuart? This unexpected question somewhat startled him. But Cromwel proceeding, asked him, What he said to him? To which the Gentleman answered, That he said nothing at all to him. Then said Cromwel, Did he not send a letter by you? The Gentleman denying that also, Cromwel took his hat, and having found the letter, he sent him immediately to the Tower. From thence he took the first favourable occasion to acquaint Charles Stuart with all that had happened to him relating to this affair; assuring him, that one of the three persons who were in the room with him at the time above mentioned, must necessarily have betrayed him. Upon this information Manning's study was searched; and his correspondence being discovered, leave was obtained from the Duke of Neuburg to execute him within his territories; and accordingly he was shot to death. But though Manning's action was base and perfidious, as proceeding from a domestic servant; yet by what law he was executed, I confess myself utterly ignorant.

After the death of Mrs. Gleypole, it was observed, that Cromwel grew melancholy, and also distempered with divers infirmities, particularly a malignant humour in his foot; which hindering him from the exercises of walking or riding abroad, he obliged his physicians to endeavour

deavour to disperse it; which they endeavouring to do, drove it upwards to his heart. By this means he became desperately sick. And as some about him had for a long time deceived others, so they now endeavoured to impose upon God himself. For Dr. Goodwin, his creature and trencher-chaplain, used this expression in his prayer during the time of his sickness, "Lord, we beg not for his recovery; for that thou hast already granted, and assured us of; but for his speedy recovery." At this time I was in the county of Essex; and, according to a former resolution I had taken, went to London to attend my father Oldsworth, and to bring him into the country, whither he designed to come with my mother Ludlow. On the Monday afternoon I set forward on my journey, the morning proving so tempestuous, that the horses were not able to draw against it; so that I could reach no farther than Epping that night. By this means I arrived not at Westminster till Tuesday about noon; when passing by Whitehall, notice was immediately given to Cromwel that I was come to town. Whereupon he sent for Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, and ordered him to inquire concerning the reasons of my coming in such haste, and at such a time. The Lieutenant-General accordingly desired, by a message, that I would come to him the next morning; which I did; and understood from him, that Cromwel suspected I was come with a design to raise some disturbance in the army, and that he was desirous to know the occasion of my journey. I assured him, that as it was not in my power to cause any commotion in the army, so neither was it in my thoughts at this time; and that

that I came to town in order to bring our family together into the country, according to a resolution taken a month since, and before I heard of Cromwel's indisposition. He then told me, that the Protector had been ill, but that it was now hoped he was recovering. I said, that I wished him so well, that I was not desirous he should die in the way he was in at present; and assured him, that I should be glad of the prolongation of his life, if he would employ it to the public good, which ought to be more dear to us than life itself.

At Whitehall they were unwilling to have it known that he was so dangerously ill; yet by reason of a clause in the *Humble petition and advice*, (which was the rule of government they pretended to act by), That the Protector should have power to nominate his successor, the commissioners of the great seal attended for signing the declaration of the person to be appointed to succeed him. But whether he was unwilling to discover his intentions to leave the succession to his son, lest thereby he should, in case of recovery, disoblige others, whom he had put in expectation of that power; or whether he was so discomposed in body and mind, that he could not attend that matter; or, lastly, whether he would have named, or did name any other, is to me uncertain. But certain it is, that the commissioners were not admitted till the Friday following; when the symptoms of death were apparent upon him, and many Ministers and others assembled in a chamber at Whitehall, praying for him; whilst he manifested so little remorse of conscience for his betraying the public cause, and sacrificing it to the idol of his own ambition,

ambition, that some of his last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner; recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great care of the people whom he had so manifestly despised. But he seemed above all concerned for the reproaches he said men would cast upon his name, in trampling on his ashes when dead. In this temper of mind he departed this life about two in the afternoon. And the news of his death being brought to those who were met together to pray for him, Mr. Sterry stood up, and desired them not to be troubled: "for, said he, this is good news; because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to interceed for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions."

Different were the effects that the death of Cromwel produced in the nation. Those men who had been sharers with him in the usurped authority, were exceedingly troubled, whilst all other parties rejoiced at it; each of them hoping that this alteration would prove advantageous to their affairs. The commonwealth's men were so charitable to believe, that the soldiery, being delivered from their servitude to the General, to which they were willing to attribute their former compliances, would now open their eyes, and join with them, as the only means left to preserve themselves and the people. Neither were the cavaliers without great hopes that new divisions might arise, and give them an opportunity of advancing their minion, who had been  
long

long endeavouring to unite all the corrupt interests of the nation to his party. But neither the sense of their duty, nor the care of their own safety, nor the just apprehensions of being overcome by their irreconcilable enemy, could prevail with the army to return to their proper station. So that, having tasted of sovereignty under the shadow of their late master, they resolved against the restitution of the parliament. And, in order to this, it was agreed to proclaim Richard Cromwel, eldest son to Oliver, Protector of the commonwealth, in hopes that he, who by following his pleasures had rendered himself unfit for public business, would not fail to place the administration of the government in the hands of those who were most powerful in the army. Accordingly the proclamation was published in Westminster, at Temple-bar, and at the Old Exchange, with as few expressions of joy as had ever been observed on the like occasion. This being done, the council issued out orders to the officers of civil justice to act by virtue of their old commissions, till new ones could be sent to them: and that nothing might be omitted to fortify the new government, various means were used to procure addresses from all parts, which were brought in great numbers from the several counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as also from divers regiments of the army. One of the first acts of the new government was, to order the funeral of the late usurper: and the council having resolved that it should be very magnificent, the care of it was referred to a committee of them; who sending for Mr. Kinnerly, Master of the Wardrobe, desired him to find out some precedent



dent by which they might govern themselves in this important affair. After examination of his books and papers, Mr. Kinnerfly, who was suspected to be inclined to Popery; recommended to them the solemnities used upon the like occasion for Philip II. King of Spain, who had been represented to be in purgatory for about two months. In the like manner was the body of this great reformer laid in Somerset-house. The apartment was hung with black, the day-light was excluded, and no other but that of wax-tapers to be seen. This scene of purgatory continued till the 1st of November; which being the day preceeding that commonly called *All souls*, he was removed into the great hall of the said house, and represented *in effigie*, standing on a bed of crimson velvet, covered with a gown of the like coloured velvet, a sceptre in his hand, and a crown on his head. That part of the hall wherein the bed stood, was railed in; and the rails and ground within them covered with crimson velvet. Four or five hundred candles set in flat shining candlesticks were so placed round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave seemed like the rays of the sun: by all which he was represented to be now in a state of glory. This folly and profusion so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt in the night on his escutcheon that was placed over the great gate of Somerset-house. I purposely omit the rest of the pageantry, the great number of persons that attended on the body, the procession to Westminster, the vast expence in mourning, the state and magnificence of the monument erected for him, with many other things that I care not to remember.

The

The necessities of the government daily increasing, it was thought expedient to call a parliament, as they termed it. Whereupon the council being summoned, three questions were debated among them.

1<sup>st</sup>, Whether the elections should be made by the counties, cities, and considerable towns, according to the distribution agreed on by the long parliament, and practised by Cromwel in his time? or, Whether they should be made by the counties, cities, and boroughs, according to the ancient law of the land?

The 2<sup>d</sup> was concerning the thirty members to serve for Ireland, and thirty for Scotland; whether, or how, they should be chosen? there having been as yet no distribution of powers to elect, as it was ordered there should be in the humble petition and advice.

The 3<sup>d</sup> was touching the writs of summons to be issued to those of the other house.

For the first, the council learned in the art and mystery of the law, advised, that, seeing there was a clause in the *Petition and Advice*, that all should be done according to law, it was the most safe way to issue out the writs of election according to the ancient form. And this method, after some debate, was resolved upon; principally because it was well understood, that mean and decayed boroughs might be much more easily corrupted, than the numerous counties and considerable cities. The motion for proceeding according to law prevailed with them also in reference to the writs for members to serve in the other house; which were accordingly issued out in the same form with those that had been formerly sent to the Peers. The second question, touching

touching the members for Scotland and Ireland, was long debated; the most prudent being of opinion, that since writs were to go out in the ancient manner to elect members to serve for England in parliament, there could be no pretence for those of Scotland and Ireland to sit with them. However, the majority concluded, that members should be chosen for Scotland and Ireland, as had been practised in the time of Cromwel; with this proviso, that they should not be admitted to sit as such, till the consent of those chosen for England were first obtained. The time of election drawing near, the court used their utmost endeavours to procure such men to be chosen as were their creatures, and had their dependencies on them; in which they had no small advantages: for, besides the power of discountenancing and punishing those that were not their friends, they had all the preferments, as well military as civil, in their disposition. The officers of the admiralty and navy had a great influence, not only upon the cinque-ports, but also upon all sea-towns whatsoever; and could press at their pleasure any inhabitant to serve at sea, and thereby ruin both them and their families. The Sheriffs, who generally were men chosen for such purposes, contributed no little assistance to their design, by disposing the writs to whom they pleased, and making themselves judges of the fitness and due qualifications of all those who should vote at the several elections.

In the mean time, divers persons, who continued unshaken in their zeal and affection to the commonwealth, met at the house of Sir Henry Vane; where they consulted what would

be most proper for them to do, in case any of them should be elected to serve in the approaching assembly; and, after mature deliberation, resolved, that, if they should be fairly chosen, and that no unjust or dishonourable thing were required of them, they should accept the employment, and therein use the best of their endeavours to serve the public; being persuaded, that it is the duty of a good man, at all times, and in all places, when an opportunity offers itself, to be useful to his country. Neither did they think that their presence and assistance in such an assembly could by any means be interpreted to be an acknowledgment that they were a parliament, in prejudice of the right of the long parliament; which though under a force, yet was never legally dissolved. In consequence of this resolution, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Weaver, Col. Kendrick, and divers others of known affection to the commonwealth, being chosen to serve, sat in the assembly. President Bradshaw was returned by the Sheriff for the county of Chester: but some of that county having returned another person, he was not present at their first meetings; the assembly having made an order, That, in case of a double return, neither of the competitors should sit till the matter should be heard and decided. Great endeavours were used by the court to prevent the election of Sir Henry Vane: and though their officers refused to return him at Hull and Bristol, at both which places it was said he had the majority; yet at last he was chosen and returned for the borough of Whitchurch in the county of Southampton. The people of this place were advised to this choice by Mr. Robert Wallop; at

at which the court-faction were so enraged, that they had sent a menacing letter to him, which was subscribed by most Justices of the Peace for the county, to let him know, that they would oppose his election for the shire, if he persisted to recommend Sir Henry Vane to the choice of the people. But Mr. Wallop despising their threatenings, continued to assist Sir Henry Vane, and was chosen for the county in despite of them.

Those that governed at Whitehall, had ordered an oath to be administered to all such as should be admitted to sit in the house, whereby the members were to oblige themselves not to act or contrive any thing against the Protector. This oath I was unwilling to take, and therefore declined going into the assembly. But being one day walking in Westminster-hall, and meeting Sir Walter St. John's, who was one of the persons appointed to administer the oath, he asked me, why I came not to the house? I told him, That though I had heard divers arguments for taking the oath, yet my doubts not being fully satisfied by them, I had hitherto abstained. Whereupon he desired me to meet him in the lobby the next morning, promising to carry me in with him; which, said he, will create a belief in the house that I have given you the oath. Accordingly I attended: but not finding Sir Walter there, I went in; and the house being at prayers, I stood amongst the rest of the members till they were ended, and then went up to the Speaker's chamber; where, and in the gallery, I sat with as much privacy as I could. Thus I continued to do for about a week; when news was brought, to the great mortification of the

O 2

the court, that Sir Henry Vane was chosen to serve in this assembly for the borough of Whitechurch, as was mentioned before. Sir Henry being come to town, and informed that I sat in the house, he was pleased to make me a visit, and to inquire by what means I had procured admission; for he had been acquainted with my scruples touching the oath. I assured him, that my doubts remained still unsatisfied; but that I had ventured to go into the assembly, where I sat as yet without any interruption. Within a day or two a member informed me of an intention in some to complain to the house against me, for sitting amongst them without the qualification of the oath. To which I answered, That it was no more than I expected. And accordingly one of the members, called *Bodurde*, the same day pressed to be heard touching a matter which, he said, concerned the very being of the house; having been informed, that there sat a person amongst them, who had not taken the oath required to be administered to every member before his admission. He therefore moved the house to inquire into it, and to give order that all men that sat there might be upon an equal foot. This motion was opposed by some, who alledged that it was of far less importance than many other things that were before them. But Mr. John Trevor, a leading man of the court party, seconded the former motion, though with much civility and respect; urging, that he could not but think it very reasonable, and of consequence, considering the worth, as he was pleased to say, of the person concerned. So the debate was entered upon, and divers gave their opinions that the oath should be peremptorily required.

quired. But Mr. Weaver, and some others, opposed them, alledging, that, for the most part, oaths proved only snares to honest men; it being generally observed, that those who were least conscientious in keeping an oath, were the most forward to take it. Col. Eyres also informed the house, that he had sat in the long parliament without taking the oath then prescribed; and that he was fully persuaded, that my omission therein proceeded not from a spirit of opposition, but from a real scruple of conscience; that his case had formerly been the same with mine; and though no man could question my affection to that parliament, yet I had moved the house in his behalf, and was the person nominated by them to bring him into the house without taking the oath. This debate continuing for two or three hours, was at length interrupted by the discovery of a person sitting in the house who had not been elected so to do. His name was King; and, being called to the bar, the house demanded of him whether he were a member? To which he answered, That he knew not whether he were or no: for meeting with an Alderman of London, who asked him if he were chosen? he demanded of him the reason of his question; whereupon the Alderman saying, that he had seen the name of one King upon the list of returns, he came down to the house, and had continued so to do, that he might not be wanting in his duty. This man being ordered to withdraw, many of the members willingly left the debate; and others did so too from their great zeal against him, supposing him to be a dangerous person; because he had been observed that morning in the Speaker's chamber to

approve and promote a paper which was there delivered, tending to shew the wickedness of the designs that were carrying on by the court-faction, and the necessity incumbent on the assembly to restore the commonwealth. So the merits of this person having been debated also, and the house being informed by one of the members serving for the city of London, that the man was distempered in his head to that degree, that his relations were often obliged to bind him hand and foot, they contented themselves to send him to Newgate for a day or two, and then ordered him to be discharged. By this means the assembly was diverted from resolving to impose the oath. And though they were much inclined to get rid of my company, yet partly by finding so great opposition, and partly by discovering that there were some of another interest which they liked better, that had not taken it, they were discouraged from resuming that debate for the future; though they did sometimes mention it by way of reflexion, when I moved any thing displeasing to them.

All men were in great expectation what the resolutions of the house would be concerning the government. The sounder part of them were very desirous to secure themselves in the two essential points which had been the ground of the quarrel between the King and the parliament; viz. the militia and the negative voice, and to establish them in the representative of the people, before they should enter upon any other business. But whilst these important matters were under consideration, Mr. Thurloe, a member of the assembly, and Secretary to Mr. Richard Cromwel, presented them with a declaration  
ready



ready drawn, wherein was contained an acknowledgment of the said Richard Cromwel to be Protector, and the *Petition and Advice* to be the rule of government for these nations. This action was by impartial men esteemed to be a great injury to the assembly: but he had a sufficient strength amongst them to carry him through whatsoever he thought fit to undertake; and therefore he was not only defended for what he had done, but it was resolved that the declaration should be received and debated. Hereupon it was moved, that the instrument might be produced, wherein, according to the *Petition and Advice*, the successor ought to be nominated, and the great seal affixed; but they having no such thing to shew, over-ruled that motion. Not being able to obtain this, and being extremely desirous to place the militia in the parliament, and to make void any pretence to a negative voice in a single person, as well as to do some other things for the people's safety and welfare, the court-party refused to consent to any thing of that nature for the present; craftily insinuating, and making large promises, that such things as were necessary should be done hereafter at a more convenient season. In the next place, it was desired, that since it appeared the present power had no legal foundation, and that it would be most safe for the Protector to derive his authority from a right source, the words in the declaration of *recognising* him, might be altered for *agnising* him; that so his right might appear to be founded upon the consent of the people represented in this assembly. But this proposition, though enforced with many weighty reasons; was rejected as the former had been; though

though it was thought convenient to divide the house upon it. Upon this success the court presuming to carry all before them, grew unmeasurably insolent; and all that could be done, was only to lengthen out their debates, and to hang on the wheels of the chariot, that they might not be able to drive so furiously. By this means time was gained to infuse good principles into divers young Gentlemen, who before had never been in any public assembly; in hopes, that though for the present their previous engagements should carry them against us, yet upon more mature deliberation they might discover where their true interest lay. Neither were our endeavours without success: for having frequently held the house nine or ten days in debate before they could come to a question, many Gentlemen, who came to Westminster prepossessed in favour of the court, confessed that the reasons of the commonwealth-party were so cogent, that they were not able to resist them. And because all parties had confederated against us, we, in order to lessen their numbers, impeached divers of them for having been of the King's party; by which means we procured some of them to be expelled, and frightened away some others who knew themselves to be in the same condition. The court to requite us, brought Mr. Marvin Touchet, a Papist, and brother to the Lord of Castlehaven, to accuse Mr. Villars, who had voted with us, of serving in the King's army; and though it appeared that he was forced so to do by those who had the government of him, he being then but sixteen years of age, and that he came into the parliament's quarters as soon as he had an opportunity; yet all that could be  
said

And proving not sufficient to excuse him, he was likewise voted out from the house. The next thing we endeavoured, was to remove the Scots and Irish members, who had intruded themselves into the house; and to have the question put, *Whether those members chosen by Scotland, ought by the law of the land to sit as members of this parliament?* The reasons used to justify the wording of the question in this manner, were, 1. That there was no colour by the ancient law of the land for their sitting as members of the parliament of England, having always been a distinct kingdom from it; 2. That there had been no distribution of powers to elect, as was required by the *Humble petition and advice*. The court would by no means permit the question to be put in the manner before mentioned, but moved that it might be thus proposed in the following words: *Whether the house thought fit, that those returned from Scotland, should sit as members of this parliament?* By this means turning a question of right into a question of conveniency. However, because our question was first proposed, we insisted that it might also be first put; and likewise moved, that those sent from Scotland and Ireland, being the persons concerned in the question, might be ordered to withdraw, and not be permitted to sit judges of their own case. And this we thought we might with more reason demand, because their own party had already waved the legality of their election by the form of words they had used in the question they proposed. But the pretended members for Scotland and Ireland, except only Mr. Swinton, who modestly withdrew, as they had debated their own case with  
much

much confidence, so, by the support of that court, they resolved to decide it in their own favour. When we saw ourselves thus overpowered by violence and number, we had the question put for leaving out the words, *by the law of the land*; which being carried in the affirmative; and therefore to be entered in the journal, we let fall words in the house, to insinuate that they were not a legal parliament, having no countenance from the authority by which they acted. And as to their prudential way of admitting the Scots and Irish on the account of conveniency, we said it would weaken all that should be done by this assembly, whose actions would be weighed and duly considered by those that should come into power, when they were gone; that the laws of this assembly, though it were granted that they were a legal parliament, would not bind the people of Scotland, who are not governed by the common law of England; and therefore that it was unreasonable, that those chosen by that nation should have any part in making laws for the people of England; and that it was intolerable, that they who had fought against a commonwealth, should be consulted with in the framing of our constitution, and so vote us out of that with their tongues, which they could never fight us out of with their swords. But all our arguments were answered by calling for the question; which they carried by a great number of votes, as they did also that for admitting those returned for Ireland.

The court having overcome these difficulties, doubted not to obtain the establishment of their house of Lords, which they called the *other house*; and therefore moved for recognising them

them also. The commonwealth's men proposed, that the assembly would first take into their consideration the powers wherewith the other house should be vested, before they proceeded to the recognition of them; lest our qualifying them with the title of a house, and our approbation of the persons that were to fill it, might be a means to procure them more power than otherwise we should think fit to give them. But the court-party alledged, that the other house being already constituted, it was no more in the power of the Commons to alter their establishment; than in the power of the new house to make any change in that of the Commons. Then we endeavoured to shew them the unreasonableness of imposing such a house upon the nation; telling them, that in ancient times those that came to parliament, sat there by virtue of the lands they possessed; and that he who had twenty fees, each of 20 l. yearly rent, might demand his place in the house as an Earl; and that whosoever was possessed of thirteen fees, whereof one third part was military, had a right to sit in the same house as a Baron: that this method continued; till the greater Barons finding themselves overvoted, withdrew into a distinct house. But K. Henry III. having obtained a victory against the Barons, deprived them of their ancient usages, and permitted none of them to come to parliament without a writ of summons from him. We shewed them, that the house of Lords anciently consisted of persons on whom the Commons had their dependence; and being for the most part retainers to them, were clothed in their liveries: but the balance being now altered, and the greatest part of the lands of Eng-  
land

land devolved upon the Commons, they, instead of wearing the Lords blue coats, did now give wages to most of those who pretended to be members of the other house. But, notwithstanding all that could be said, the confederacy for them was strong enough to carry all before them; the cavalierish party, who were very numerous, joining with them, in expectation that it might prove a good step towards the return of the former peerage. So the question was put, *Whether this house should transact with the other house?* and carried in the affirmative. We then desired, that seeing this house was undeniably more honourable in the members of it than the other, and much more in relation to those whom they represented, that the members of this house might not go to them with messages as formerly, unless the members of the new house would respectively come to us with their messages; or, that the Masters in chancery, who were accustomed to be the Lords messengers, might be divided between the two houses for that purpose. But this also was denied; and we were told, "That a feather might hinder  
 " the motion of a clock as well as a piece of  
 " iron." The subject of our first transaction with the other house, was touching a declaration for a fast; which, by some expressions in it, " of  
 " taking shame to ourselves for neglecting to  
 " settle the government of the church, and ha-  
 " ving permitted so many erroneous and here-  
 " tical opinions to be divulged," with others of a like nature, discovered plainly in what mint it was forged. This declaration being agreed to, it was ordered to be carried to the other house for their concurrence by one Mr. Grove, who was accompanied

accompanied by divers young Gentlemen, and many of the cavalier-party; all of them attending like so many lackeys at the bar of the other house, whilst the ceremonies of presenting it were performed; which were the same that had been formerly used to the Peers on the like occasion. Those of the other house were wonderfully pleased with this application to them; having waited near three months for it; and having no business to do, had consumed great store of fire to keep them warm at the public charge. Yet, upon the debate, they found not so great a unanimity as in the receiving it; for Mr. Cromwel's party and the Presbyterians fell violently upon the Independents, and some of the army, concerning some clauses therein inserted, as they said, by those of their party. These divisions were not confined within the walls of that house, but broke out in the army itself; the officers every where discovering their jealousies one of another. They were divided into three parties, and neither of them much superior to the other in number. One party was known to be well-affected to the commonwealth; and consisted chiefly of the following officers, *viz.* Col. Ashfield, Col. Lilburn, Col. Fitz, Lt-Col. Mason, Lt-Col. Moss, Lt-Col. Farley, Maj. Creed, with divers Captains and other inferior officers. A second party was known by the title of the *Wallingford-house*, or *army-party*; who had advanced Mr. Richard Cromwel, in expectation of governing all as they pleased. Of these were Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Col. Desborough, Col. Sydenham, Col. Clarke, Col. Kelsey, Col. Berry, Maj. Haines, Treasurer Blackwel, and some others. The third party was that of Mr. Richard

VOL. II. P Cromwel,

Cromwel, who having cast off those who had taken the pains to advance him, joined himself to men that were more suitable to his inclinations. Such were Col. Ingoldsbey, Col. Gough, Col. Whalley, Col. Howard, Col. Goodrick, Lt-Col. Keins, with many others, and more particularly those that were officers in the Scots and Irish forces. But his cabinet-council were the Lord Broghill, Dr. Wilkins, and Col. Philip Jones. The differences between these parties being already very great, were yet much increased by the following accident. Col. Whalley, whom Richard had lately made Commissary-General of the Horse, meeting with Col. Ashfield in Westminster-hall, and discoursing with him concerning the other house, about which their sentiments were very different, the Commissary-General fell into such a passion, that he threatened to strike the Colonel; who there-upon daring him to do it, Whalley chose rather to make his complaint to Mr. Richard Cromwel. Col. Ashfield being summoned to appear, the pretended Protector threatened to cashier him as a mutineer, for speaking in such a manner to a general officer of the army. But the Colonel desiring a fair and equal hearing by a council of officers, he was ordered to attend again. At the time appointed, it was contrived, that Col. Gough, Col. Ingoldsbey, Col. Howard, Lt-Col. Goodrick, and other creatures of the court, should be present to decide the matter in dispute; who unanimously enjoined Col. Ashfield to acknowledge his fault, and to ask the Commissary-General's pardon for the same. But their endeavours herein proved ineffectual; for the Colonel denying that he had offended the Commissary.



sary-General, refused to desire his pardon. Another thing happened about the same time that proved very disadvantageous to the interest of Mr. Richard Cromwel: for a certain inferior officer having publicly murmured at the advancement of some that had been cavaliers to commands in the army, he was carried to Whitehall to answer for the same. Mr. Richard Cromwel, besides other reproachful language, asking him in a deriding manner, Whether he would have him prefer none but those that were godly? "Here, continued he, is Dick Ingoldsf-  
" by, who can neither pray nor preach, and yet  
" I will trust him before ye all." Those imprudent, as well as irreligious words, so clearly discovering the frame and temper of his mind, were soon published in the army, and city of London, to his great prejudice. And from this time all men among them who made but the least pretences to religion and sobriety, began to think themselves unsafe whilst he governed; and thereupon soon formed a resolution to use their utmost endeavours to divide the military from the civil power, and to place the command of the army in Lt-Gen. Fleetwood.

The Wallingford-house party finding themselves abandoned by Mr. Richard Cromwel, and being very desirous, if not to get the whole power into their hands, yet at least to preserve what they were already possessed of, and to render themselves formidable, desired to renew a correspondence with the commonwealth's men; and to that end ordered Col. Kelsey, one of their members, to let me know, that if I would go to Wallingford-house, I should meet with a friendly reception from the Lieutenant-General and

the rest of the company. Accordingly I went thither; and perceiving them to agree that the measures then taken would inevitably bring in the common enemy, I could not forbear telling them, that though I was heartily sorry for the sad consequences such a revolution might bring upon the people of England; yet, with respect to themselves, they had merited whatsoever had already happened, or was justly to be feared, in that they had advanced a single person over us, when it was in their power to put us into a full possession of our liberties: however, that I presumed it was not yet too late, if they would resolve to join themselves to that part of the army who were well-affected to the commonwealth; and who, in conjunction with them, would, in all appearance, be enabled to restore that government, which had cost the nation so much blood to establish. I told them, that it would be convenient to give some earnest of the sincerity of their reconciliation with us, in order to recover that trust and confidence from the commonwealth-party, which was necessary to our present undertaking; and to that end proposed, that they would support and defend Col. Ashfield, who was like to suffer for his affection to the commonwealth. They acquainted me, that they had already appeared for the Colonel, and promised to do him the best offices they could in his affair; yet expressed an unwillingness to ruin some of their friends who were of Mr. Cromwel's party, and particularly named Col. Whalley. I replied, that if Col. Whalley was so good a man to deserve that consideration from them, I persuaded myself he would not oppose them; but if he were otherwise, they could not justly

justly be thought worthy of the honour of being employed in the rescue and deliverance of their country, who should suffer themselves to be so much governed by private interests and engagements. Nothing more of moment passed between us in this conversation, except that they desired to keep a good correspondence with us; and to that end moved, that they might see Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haslerig, or at least be made acquainted with their opinion concerning the public affairs, and receive their advice touching their future proceedings. I told them, it was my opinion, that those two Gentlemen were too prudent to appear publicly in a matter of this nature, before full satisfaction that those of Wallingford-house were in earnest, and had done something that should put them past all retreat. Yet I promised them to inform myself concerning their sentiments, and to advertise them from time to time what measures they should think most proper to be taken. The next day I acquainted Sir Henry Vane and Sir Arthur Haslerig with what had passed, and they approved the way that was proposed; and promised, that when they saw it seasonable, they would be ready to assist them in all things tending to the public service. With this answer I went to Col. Sydenham, and desired him to impart it to the rest of the company at Wallingford-house; and then asking him concerning their proceedings, he told me they designed to procure a general council of officers to be called; which if they could effect, he hoped it would be of great advantage to their affairs. After two or three days, some of the principal of the party finding Mr. Cromwel alone, took the opportunity to

P 3 . . . persuade

persuade him of the necessity of calling a general council of officers, in order to present something to the house for the regulation and maintenance of the army. He not suspecting their design, consented to the proposition; and having issued out an order to that purpose, a general council of officers met. Both parties endeavoured to take advantage of this meeting; and the lightest vessels being usually most noisy, the Irish officers first moved, that the council would petition the house, that the Protector might be declared General of the army, as the only means to put an end to the divisions that were amongst them. But this motion found so little approbation, that the court-party began to doubt of their success at this meeting; and had much more reason so to do, when they heard the hum that was given upon a proposition made to this effect: That it would be more advantageous to the army, and more conducing to the good of the nation, if the military and civil power might be placed in different hands, that the one might be a balance to the other. The temper and inclinations of the council being thus tried, they were adjourned to another day. In the mean time the party of Wallingford-house beginning to appear more publicly, Col. Desborough and Col. Sydenham sent an officer to desire me to give them a meeting in the chamber where the committee for the army usually sat, and to bring with me two or three persons, in whose affections to the public I had the most confidence. Accordingly I made choice of Col. Dixwel, and my cousin Mr. Wallop, and with them went to the place appointed; where our discourse tended chiefly to give reciprocal assurances of our resolution

lution to join together in order to promote the public good; promising to use our endeavours to remove all doubts and scruples that might remain in any of us, that, by a mutual trust and confidence in each other, we might be the better enabled to prevent the return of the common enemy. The second time the general council of officers met, they went a step farther; and declared their apprehensions, that "the common cause was likely to be ruined by the subtlety and artifices of those who had never been able to do it by open force;" and therefore desired, that the command of the army might be intrusted to the care of some fit person, in whom they might all confide. This proposition found so general an approbation, that it was impossible for the courtiers to resist the stream; and so the meeting was adjourned to another day. In the mean time, Mr. Cromwel and his party were exceedingly alarmed at these proceedings; and not daring to trust to their own authority in this matter, they contrived it so, as to engage the parliament in their defence. Accordingly some members of the Commons house charged the council with mutinous words there spoken against the government, and against the resolutions of the parliament itself. This accusation was so well seconded, that the house resolved to dissipate the storm; and, to that end, passed a vote, "That the officers of the army should no more meet as a general council." Yet, for all this, they met again at the time appointed, in order to proceed in their design. But the house having notice of it, and being very desirous to enable Mr. Cromwel to make their vote effectual, declared him

to

to be General of their army; authorising him to disperse the officers to their respective charges, to remove from their commands such as should disobey, and to place others in the room of them. They also voted it to be high treason in the officers to meet in council contrary to their order; and promised to cause the arrears of those that should yield obedience to be forthwith paid, with assurances to take care of them for the future. Mr. Richard Cromwel, having notice of these votes, immediately went to the place where the council of officers was assembled; and having informed them of what had passed, he told them that he expected their present obedience. The officers, not being then prepared to dispute his commands, withdrew themselves. But the chief of them continued their meetings in a more private manner, making use of all means imaginable to oblige Mr. Richard Cromwel to a compliance with them. But he, relying on the strength of his new friends, refused to hearken to them; so that they perceived it to be high time to provide for the security of themselves. Information being given at court, that something extraordinary was in agitation, the Protector Richard sent a message to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood to come to him. But the messenger returned without an answer. Then he ordered some of the guard to be sent for him, but they desired to be excused. The Lieutenant-General, having notice of this design, retired to St. James's; where many officers of the army resorting to him, it was concluded between them, that the whole army should rendezvous at St. James's. The news of this resolution being brought to Mr. Cromwel, he also appointed

appointed a counter rendezvous to be at the same time at Whitehall. Accordingly Col. Gough sent orders for his regiment to march to Whitehall; but the Major had already prevailed with them to draw to St. James's. Three troops of Col. Ingoldsbys horse marched also to St. James's, with part of two more; so that he had only one entire troop of his regiment to stand by him. Col. Whalley's regiment of horse for the most part left him, and went off to St. James's; which he seeing, opened his breast, and desired them to shoot him. Col. Hacker's regiment of horse being drawn up near Cheap-side, Mr. Cromwel sent a message to the Colonel, with an order to require him forthwith to march to Whitehall. But he excused himself, and said, that he had received orders from Lt-Gen. Fleetwood to keep that post. Many also of Richard's own guard went to St. James's; and most of those that staid with him, declared they would not oppose any that should come to them by order from Lt-Gen. Fleetwood. Thus here was a General without any army, and divers great officers without soldiers; who having boasted of their interest in the army, and having thereby led the house into their late rash proceedings, now being utterly disappointed in their hopes and expectations, knew not what to advise, or what to do. About noon, Col. Desborough went to Mr. Richard Cromwel at Whitehall, and told him, that if he would dissolve his parliament, the officers would take care of him; but that if he refused so to do, they would do it without him, and leave him to shift for himself. Having taken a little time to consider of it, and finding no other way left to do

do better, he consented to what was demanded. This great alteration was made with so little noise, that very few were alarmed at it. The next morning the house met, and divers members made extravagant motions, rather, as was supposed, to vent their own passions, than from any hopes of success: for whatever were the resolutions that had been made by the court-junto, they could not suddenly be brought to a vote, because the contrary party was considerably increased by this change of affairs. Few of the house knew of the resolution taken to put a period to them; or if they did, were unwilling to take notice of it. So that when the Usher of the Black Rod, who attended the other house, came to let the Serjeant at Arms know, that it was the pleasure of the Protector that the house of Commons should attend him at the other house, many of them were unwilling to admit the Serjeant into the house to deliver the message; but the commonwealth-party demanded, and obtained, that he should give the house an account of what the Gentleman of the Black Rod had said to him. The assembly, being under this confusion, adjourned themselves till eight of the clock the next morning. But care was taken to prevent their meeting again, by publishing a proclamation, declaring them to be dissolved, by setting a padlock on the door of the house, and by placing a guard in the court of requests, with orders to refuse admittance to all those that should demand it. The army, having broken this assembly, were not so unanimous in resolving what step to take next. The chief of them were most inclined to patch up some agreement with Mr. Richard Cromwel, if they could effect it  
with



with advantage to themselves. In the mean time, they permitted the ordinary course of justice to run in his name, whilst they themselves disposed of the offices of the army at their pleasure; removing such as had appeared active against them at the time of their general rendezvous, and filling the vacancies with their own creatures. They took Maj.-Gen. Lambert into their councils; and restored him, together with Col. Packer and Capt. Gladman, to their several commands. Sir Charles Coote went post for Ireland, to carry the news of this great alteration to Col. Henry Cromwel, and to consult what might be done to continue their reign. Col. Henry Ingoldisby hastened after him on the same account; and soon after their arrival, all possible care was taken to maintain themselves. To that end, Sir Charles Coote was sent into Connaught, Lt-Col. Flower into Ulster, the Lord Broghill into Munster; and the troops they most confided in, were ordered to march towards Dublin. This being done, a council of officers was called together by Col. Cromwel, and a proposition made to them, that they would declare themselves ready to stand by and defend Mr. Richard Cromwel; which they declined to do at that time, desiring to see what course would be taken by the army in England before they should declare themselves. In England there were not wanting some who endeavoured to support this tottering government; but finding themselves hopeless of success in or about London, they resolved to act their parts farther off. In order to this, they made choice of the north, principally by reason of the neighbourhood of Scotland, where the forces were com-  
manded

manded by Col. George Monk, a person of an ambitious and covetous temper, of loose, or rather no principles, and of a vitious and scandalous conversation. The chief instruments made use of in this design, were the Lord Falconbridge and Col. Howard; who, though they had attended on Lt-Gen. Fleetwood before they began their journey, to assure him of their resolutions to acquiesce; yet had both tampered with their regiments, in order to fit them to their purposes; and also held a correspondence with Col. Monk, who was not a little suspected by the confederated officers of Wallingford-house.

The Wallingford-house party, who had thus possessed themselves of the supreme power, were every day pressed from all parts, and especially from the city of London, to restore the long parliament, as the only means to satisfy the people, and to establish an equal and just government amongst us in the way of a commonwealth. Neither were there wanting divers officers of the army, who positively declared that they would not rest contented with any thing less. Besides, the commonwealth-party had absolutely refused to hearken to any propositions of accommodation with Mr. Richard Cromwel; and great endeavours had been used by the son of the late King, in conjunction with the Presbyterians, to raise tumults and insurrections in England. To which may be added, the great probability that appeared of a peace to be concluded speedily between France and Spain, who would then be at leisure to assist the common enemy. These things being seriously considered by those of Wallingford-house, and finding themselves destitute of all other means to supply the

the necessities of the army and navy; they were compelled at last to admit the debate of the restitution of the long parliament, amongst other propositions that were under their consideration. They also restored some officers to their commands, who had suffered for their affections to the parliament; and amongst others, Col. Okey and Col. Saunders, who had been cashiered by Oliver Cromwel on that account. The proposition of restoring the parliament met with great opposition from many of those that had tasted the sweetness of power and profit under the late usurpation of the Cromwels, and who feared a more equal distribution of things; and therefore they every where affirmed, that there was not a sufficient number of members left to make up a parliament. Hereupon Dr. John Owen having desired me to give him a list of their names, I delivered him one; wherein I had marked those who had sat in the house since the year 1648, and were yet alive, amounting to the number of about 160. The Doctor having perused it, carried it to those at Wallingford-house; who, for the reasons before mentioned, appointed a committee of their associates to treat with some members of that parliament, in order to a clearing of some particulars which seemed most considerable to them, before they should proceed to a final determination in this great affair. The place of meeting was Sir Henry Vane's house at Charing-cross. The persons of and from the army were, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Col. John Jones, Col. Kelsey, Col. Berry, &c. Those of the parliament were, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Hasle-  
rig, Maj. Salloway, and myself. The things de-  
manded by those of the army, were,

1. To be secured by an act of indemnity for what was past.

2. That some provision of power might be made for Mr. Richard Cromwel, as well as for the payment of his debts, and future subsistence in a plentiful manner; they having promised to take care of him in these particulars.

3. That what should stand in need of regulation both in the law and clergy, should be reformed and amended.

4. That the government of the nation should be by a representative of the people, and by a select senate.

For the first, it was thought reasonable, that something of that nature should be done, as well to gratify those who would contribute to our return, as for our own future peace and quiet.

Touching the second proposition, concerning a provision to be made for Mr. Richard Cromwel, we said, that though the parliament and nation had been greatly injured by the interruption they had received; yet, seeing those who were at present in possession of the power had engaged to make some provision for him, we were contented, for ourselves, that those debts which he had contracted on the public account should be paid, that so he might be enabled to subsist comfortably; but that we could by no means consent to continue any part of his late assumed power to him; neither could we believe that such a proposition would ever be hearkened to by the members of the parliament, if they should come together.

The third proposition was easily agreed to; all of us declaring, that we would use the utmost of our endeavours to rectify and reform whatsoever

ever should appear to be amiss either in church or state.

In the fourth proposition we found a greater difficulty, not being all of the same opinion with respect to that part of it relating to the senate. Whereupon finding, that, out of a desire to avoid any thing that might prove an obstruction to the return of the parliament, or possibly from an inclination in some to the thing itself, there was an intention, by a general silence about that matter, to give them hopes of our compliance. Therefore, that they might have no just occasion to say hereafter, that we had dealt doubly with them, keeping fair in that particular before our admission, and after we were admitted, declaring against it; I thought it my duty to let them know, that if, by a select senate, they understood a lasting power, co-ordinate with the authority of the people's representative, and not chosen by the people, I could not engage to promote the establishment of such a power; apprehending, that it would prove a means to perpetuate our differences, and make it necessary to keep up a standing force to support it. But if they proposed to erect such an authority only for a short-time, and in order to proceed with more vigour to an equal and just establishment of the commonwealth, I presumed it might be very useful, and that the people would readily acquiesce when it should be evident that it was designed to no other end than to prevent them from destroying themselves, and not to inflave them to any faction or party. After four or five hours debate concerning these particulars, we desired them to consider, that whatsoever had been said by us in this conference,

Q 2

rence,

rence, ought only to be taken as proceeding from private men, and that we durst not presume to promise any thing on the part of the parliament. However, we encouraged them to hope, that if we four joined in proposing any thing in the house for the public good, we might probably bring it to effect. At the conclusion of our conversation, Maj.-Gen. Lambert assured us, that he would represent to the general council what had passed between us as fairly, and with as much advantage, as we could desire. After three or four days, the same company met again at the same place; where those that were employed by the council of officers, declared the resolution of themselves, and of those they represented, to be, That the parliament should be restored; and thereupon pressed us, that the members might meet with all possible expedition, being persuaded that delays in a matter of such importance might hazard the success of all, Therefore it was resolved, that notice should be given to such members as were in town to meet on the Thursday following, at Mr. Lenthal their Speaker's house; and that the officers of the army should come thither, and there acquaint us with the desires of the army. At the time appointed, about sixteen of us went to the Speaker's house; and having informed him of the cause of our coming, he began to make many trifling excuses, pleading his age, sickness, and inability to sit long. Soon after the committee from the general council came; and Maj.-Gen. Lambert, in the name of the rest, acquainted the Speaker, That, in order to reconcile our differences, and to unite all those that were well-affected to the public, it was the desire of the  
army,

army, that the parliament would return to the discharge of their duty, according to the trust reposed in them by the people of England; promising to stand by them, and serve them to the utmost of their power. The Speaker, who had been lately at court, where they had prevailed with him to endeavour to render this design, which they feared above all things, ineffectual; and, on the other hand, being unwilling to lose his late acquired peerage, renewed his former excuses; with this addition, That he was not fully satisfied that the death of the late King had not put an end to the parliament. To this it was answered, That, by a law made by an undisputed authority, the parliament could not be dissolved without their own consent, which had never yet been given. And therefore they desired him, as he valued the peace and happiness of the nation, to send his letters to such members as were about the town, requiring them to meet the next morning in the Lords house, in order to resume their places in the house of Commons so soon as they might make up a quorum. He replied, That he could by no means do as we desired; having appointed a business of far greater importance to himself, which he would not omit on any account, because it concerned the salvation of his own soul. We then pressed him to inform us what it might be. To which he answered, That he was preparing himself to participate of the Lord's supper, which he resolved to take on the next Lord's day. Upon this it was replied, That mercy is more acceptable to God than sacrifice; and that he could not better prepare himself for the aforesaid duty, than by contributing to the public good. But he re-

solving to perform some part of his promise to Mr. Richard Cromwel, would not be persuaded to send letters to the members, as it was desired. So that we found ourselves obliged to tell him, that the service of the public had been too long obstructed by the will of single persons; and that if he refused to issue out his letters to the members, we would cause it to be done by other means: and thereupon gave orders to such clerks as we then had there ready for that purpose, to draw directions for the messengers who were to summon the members, and to divide the list amongst them, in such a manner as might best provide for the expedition of the business. In the morning about thirty members being come, and the number increasing continually, the Speaker, who had appointed his spies to bring him word whether we might probably make up a house or not, being informed that we wanted not above three or four, notwithstanding the salvation of his soul, thought it time to come to us; and soon after the requisite number was completed. About twelve o'clock we went to take our places in the house; Mr. Lenthall our Speaker leading the way, and the officers of the army lining the rooms for us, as we passed through the Painted chamber, the court of requests, and the lobby itself, the principal officers having placed themselves nearest to the door of the parliament-house; every one seeming to rejoice at our restitution, and promising to live and die with us. The same day, the house appointed a committee of safety, with authority to seize and secure such as might justly be suspected of any design to disturb the public peace, and also to remove such officers of the army



army as they should think fit, and to fill their places with others, till the parliament should take farther order therein. The persons constituted to be of that committee were, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Col. Sydenham, Maj. Salloway, Col. John Jones, and myself. These were of the house; and to them were joined from without Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Col. Desborough, and Col. Berry. The time appointed for the duration of their power was, if I mistake not, eight days; by which time it was supposed the house would be able to constitute a council of state, to take care of affairs of that nature. The parliament referred to the committee to give notice to foreign ambassadors residing in England, and to the ministers of this nation employed in foreign parts, of their return to the exercise of their authority. They likewise directed them to inform themselves what alliances England had abroad, and to report the state of that affair to the house. They empowered them also to make inquiry into the miscarriages of officers during the late confusions, to remove such as they found guilty, to put others in their places; and then to lay the whole matter before the parliament for their approbation. To the members of the house who were of the committee, they added Mr. Scot; and then ordered them to take a view of all the civil officers of the nation, authorising them to displace those that should be found unfit to serve, and to place others in the room of them; and to report what they had done to the house. Writs, and all proceedings at law, were directed to run as formerly, in the name of the *Keepers of the liberties of England*. And lest the

the Judges who were members of the house might, by their influence there, prevent the intended reformation of the law, it was resolved, that no member of parliament should be a judge in any court. Information being given to the committee, that Col. Norton, Governor of Portsmouth, had let fall some expressions of discontent, they knowing the place to be of great importance, sent down Col. Whetham, who formerly had been Governor thereof, to take possession of the government of it. At which though the Colonel was much disturbed, yet in a letter to me, written by him soon after, he assured me he should be very well satisfied, if we would proceed to the settlement of an equal commonwealth. A committee for the sea-affairs was also appointed by the parliament; who being informed of the disaffection of some that managed the business of the admiralty to the present government, the house was earnestly pressed to pass a vote for excluding them from that employment: but at last they were prevailed with to refer it to the committee which they had already appointed for nominating officers, to propose some for that charge. The committee having resolved to acquaint the persons they designed to propose to the parliament, with their intentions before-hand, demanded of Col. Kelsey if he would accept of it, and easily obtained his consent; though they told him they could not promise him any other salary than what he should merit by a diligent performance of the duties of the place. The same proposition being made to Col. Clarke, he told them, he would consider well before he would engage so far with the present authority. This carriage of the Colonel caused

caused me to suspect that the army had still some design on foot, more than appeared openly; and I was the rather induced to this suspicion by his relation to Thurloe the late Secretary, and his familiarity with Col. Desborough; especially considering that the way was still open to reconcile themselves to Mr. Richard Cromwel, who yet remained at Whitehall, without making any preparations for his removal. The officers also, under colour of inquiring into the miscarriages of the late governments, and modelling the affairs of the army, had frequent meetings; wherein greater care was taken to maintain their own faction, than to provide for the public service. It was very evident by the lists of officers presented by them to the committee, that the Wallingford-house party was not so averse to the creatures of Mr. Richard Cromwel, as they were to those who had been sufferers on the account of the commonwealth; so that Maj.-Gen. Overton, Col. Rich, Col. Alured, and Capt. Bremen, were not without great difficulty received into the service. The regiment of horse that had been commanded by Col. Howard, was given to Sir Arthur Haslerig. And a day or two after it was proposed, that I should be Colonel of that which had been commanded by Col. Gough, Sir Henry Vane and Maj. Salloway earnestly pressing me to accept of it. But being unwilling to intermeddle with any employment of advantage under the parliament, that I might give my voice in the house with more freedom and impartiality, I desired to be excused. Having taken this resolution, Sir Arthur Haslerig came to me, and told me, that unless I did accept it, he would quit the  
regiment

regiment he commanded; which he protested to have taken, not with a design to make any advantage of it, being resolved not to receive any pay; but only to have a right to be present at the councils of war, whereby he might be enabled to do some good, and possibly to prevent more mischief. Having weighed these things, and considered that our greatest danger was likely to arise from the army, the principal officers of which had been debauched from their duty by Oliver Cromwel, and had learned their own strength when they obstructed his design to be King; that they had placed his son in the same power after his death, and pulled him down again upon their dislike of his government; I consented to undertake the command of the regiment that was offered to me. The parliament having many important affairs under their consideration, were not yet at leisure to constitute a council of state; and therefore continued the powers granted to the committee of safety for a longer time; and declared their intentions to be, that the nation should be governed in the way of a commonwealth, without a King, single person, or house of Lords. They also ordered, that Whitehall should be cleared with all convenient speed for the use of the public; that care should be taken of the goods and furniture belonging to it; and that the committee should take care that Mr. Richard Cromwel might have notice of these their resolutions. In the mean time the parliament took into their consideration what powers and instructions were requisite for the council of state; and voted their number to consist of thirty one, whereof twenty one to be of the parliament, and ten to be

be of such persons as were not members of the house. And the better to shew the consideration the parliament had for some eminent persons, who were not of their body, and principally for the officers of the army, it was first agreed, that the Lord President Bradshaw, the Lord Fairfax, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Col. Desborough, Col. Berry, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Sir Horatio Townsend, should be members of the council. The next morning the parliament proceeded to the election of twenty one of their members to be of the council of state, according to their former resolution; and chose Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Maj. Salloway, Col. Morley, Mr. Thomas Chaloner, Col. Algernon Sidney, Mr. Henry Nevil, Col. Walton, Col. Dixwell, Mr. Wallop, Chief Justice St. John's, Mr. Thomas Scot, Col. Thomson, Mr. Robert Reynolds, Col. Sydenham, Col. John Jones, the Lord Commissioner Whitlock, Sir James Harrington, Col. Downes, and myself. Then, to complete the number of ten, who were to consist of persons that were not members, they chose the Lord Wariston, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Josias Berners. The officers of the army were not at all pleased with this election, perceiving they should not be permitted to act arbitrarily, as they desired, and therefore seldom came to the council; and when they condescended to come, carried themselves with all imaginable perverseness and insolence. They scrupled to take the oath "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, in opposition to Charles Stuart, or any single person," which the parliament had appointed to be taken by every member of the council before he took  
his

his place. And because they were ashamed to own themselves dissatisfied with the substance of the oath, they pretended to be unwilling to take any; yet professing a readiness to promise as much as the oath required. This distinction seemed very nice to most of us. But that there might be no difference about ceremonies, the parliament was prevailed with to grant liberty to the council to alter the engagement into such a form as might give them satisfaction. Notwithstanding all which condescension, they were hardly persuaded to take it; and when they had done it, they seldom came to discharge their duty at the board. Things being in this posture, the enemies to the government thought it a proper time to attempt something before a good agreement might be made between the parliament and the army. In order to which, great numbers of arms were bought up by them in London; whereof notice was given to a committee of the council of state. A chest filled with arms was sent to the house of one Mr. Overbury of Gloucestershire; of which he gave notice to Capt. Crofts, who commanded the county-troop; and the Captain having caused the trunk to be opened, found in it ten case of common pistols, one fine pair with the name of one Harman Barns the maker upon them, together with a compleat suit of armour. The committee of the council of state sent for the said Harman Barns; and upon examination found him to have been gunsmith to Prince Rupert; and so confused in his answers, that we thought it necessary to secure him and his arms, amounting to the number of 200 carabines, and as many pair of pistols ready fixed, besides a great number unfixed;

unfixed; though he had affirmed to us, that he had no more than thirty pair of pistols in his house. The cavalier-party having boasted to divers persons, that Mr. Howe of Gloucestershire had given to them assurances of his service; the committee sent for him to appear before them; which he did; and in his examination acknowledged, that he had a certain number of arms in his house, which he had purchased at the time of the late dispute between Richard's and the commonwealth party, that he might be ready to serve the public on that occasion, if there had been any necessity; and had given assurance to Sir Arthur Haslerig and me of the same good intentions. Hereupon, though I could not but justify the committee in sending for him, on account of the informations we had received; yet I thought myself obliged to do him justice; and accordingly informed the committee, that, on the day of the dissolution of Richard's convention, Mr. Howe came to me in Westminster-hall, and assured me of his affection to the commonwealth, and that whensoever I should signify to him that there was occasion for his service, he would be ready to hazard both life and estate in the defence of it. The council being satisfied with this testimony, gave present orders for his discharge. In the mean time, the Wallingford-house party not forgetting their design, drew an address to the parliament, and presented it by the hands of the chief officers of the army, that so it might either have a greater influence upon the house, or, if it prevailed not there, that it might be a means to unite them all against the parliament. The principal heads of the address were, that those who had acted under the late

power, might be indemnified by an act of parliament; that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood might be appointed Commander in chief of the army; that the debts of the Protector might be satisfied, and that he might have 10,000 l. by year added to his revenue; that the government of the nation might consist of a representative of the people, and of a select senate; that care might be taken for the payment of the army; and that liberty of conscience might be secured to all such who professed faith in Jesus Christ, and were not scandalous in their conversation. The parliament gave them for answer, That they would take their desires into their speedy consideration, and give them satisfaction therein as far as should be possible. And that for the future no man might have an opportunity to pack an army to serve his ambition, as had formerly been practised, a bill was prepared and brought in, constituting the seven persons following, *viz.* Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Col. Desborough, Col. Berry, Sir Henry Vane, and myself, to be commissioners for the nomination of officers to be presented to the consideration and approbation of the parliament. Another bill was brought in, to constitute Lt-Gen. Fleetwood Commander in chief; and it was resolved, that his commission should continue during the present session, or till the parliament should take farther order therein; and instead of authorising the Lieutenant-General to grant commissions to such officers as should be appointed by the parliament, it was ordered, that the said commissions should be subscribed by the Speaker, and received from his hands; by which it was endeavoured to bring the



the military sword under the power of the civil authority, as it ought to be in a free nation. But observing that these things were greatly disliked by the officers, and knowing how much it imported the very being of our cause to maintain a good correspondence between the parliament and army, I earnestly pressed the house not to insist upon the restrictions before mentioned, especially considering that they consisted rather in form than substance: for tho' the time of a commission be not expressly limited, yet it can last no longer than during the pleasure of those that give it; and if it should happen to be used to the destruction of those from whom it was received, it actually puts a period to itself. Neither could it be thought very material, whether a commission was signed by one person or another, so long as it was derived from the same authority. Sir Henry Vane and Maj. Salloway were of the same opinion. But Sir Arthur Haslerig, Col. Sidney, Mr. Nevil, and the majority of the house, carried it for the said limitations and restrictions. And many of the house began to entertain a hard opinion of me on the account of this moderation, as if I had espoused the interest of the army against the parliament. The two acts being passed, it was ordered that notice of them should be given to the army; and that the house expected, that the Commander in chief, with the rest of the officers approved by the parliament, should take their commissions from the hands of the Speaker as he sat in the chair. Hereupon a council of officers being summoned to Col. Desborough's house to consult about this affair, Sir Arthur Haslerig desired me not to fail to meet him there. The council being met, di-

vers officers, and especially those of the first rank, openly manifested their discontent against the clauses before mentioned; Maj.-Gen. Lambert saying, that they implied a diffidence of the army, and that they had no assurance that the parliament would continue them in their employments; which, he said, was contrary to the promises made to them before the restitution of the parliament. It was answered, That no private persons either could, or had promised more than to use their endeavours in the house to procure certain things to be done; and that whatsoever had been so promised by any of us, had been fully effected by the parliament: for they had continued the commands of the army in such hands as had been agreed on; neither was there any colour for them to suspect any intention to alter the same. They were told, that the parliament could not justly be blamed, if they endeavoured to preserve their authority, which had been so eminently violated of late; that it was our duty to judge favourably of the actions of the parliament; and especially since they had given such evident demonstration to the world that they designed not to perpetuate their authority, by a late vote that had passed with the two acts complained of, "That the parliament should be dissolved in the month of May next ensuing;" whereby they had engaged themselves, as they tendered their own preservation, to make a speedy provision for the settlement of the government, and the security of the common cause, in which the officers of the army were as much concerned as any persons whatsoever. We desired them to consider well of how great importance it was to the people

ple of England, to preserve a good correspondence between the parliament and the army at this time, when the common enemy had no hopes left but in our divisions; that they would not gratify their enemies, nor discourage their friends, by entertaining groundless suspicions and jealousies of those whose interest was the same with theirs. But, notwithstanding all that could be said, the dissatisfaction of the chief officers, who had another game to play, still remained; and their confidence to carry all before them was so great, that Col. Desborough openly said, that he accounted the commission he had already, to be as good as any the parliament could give, and that he would not take another. Yet for all this ruffling insolence of the chief officers of the army, who thought they could have influenced all the rest, Col. Hacker, with the officers of his regiment, came the next morning, by the persuasions of Sir Arthur Haslerig, to the parliament-house, and received their commissions from the Speaker according to the directions of the act. The next day I was attended by the officers of my regiment, and we all together received our commissions in the same manner. The ice being thus broke by Col. Hacker and me, the rest of the officers began to consider better of the matter; and divers of them growing more moderate, came also, and took out their commissions. Lt-Gen. Fleetwood received three commissions; whereof one was for a regiment of horse, another for a regiment of foot, and the third appointing him to be Commander in chief, with the limitations above mentioned, and a clause requiring him to obey such orders

as he should receive from the parliament, or the council of state.

Mr. Richard Cromwel not removing from Whitehall, though he received a message to that end, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Scot, and I, according to the command we had from the parliament, attended him there; and received for answer, that he would do it with all convenient speed. But the parliament being impatient of his delays, sent the Chief Justice St. John's, and another person, to require him to give them a positive answer touching his removal; which he did to their satisfaction; declaring his acquiescence in the providence of God, and his resolution, not only to submit to the authority of the parliament, but also to use the best of his endeavours to persuade all those in whom he had any interest to do so likewise. The parliament having received his answer, ordered 20,000 l. to be presently paid him to enable him to remove, and passed a resolution to pay those debts which it was said he had contracted on the public account.

The army in Ireland being informed that the parliament was returned to the exercise of their authority, sent over commissioners to them, to propose divers things relating as well to the civil as military government of that nation. The council of state having heard their propositions, prepared such of them as they thought reasonable for the consideration of the parliament; in particular, those concerning the establishment of the army in the possession of those lands which had been assigned them in payment of their arrears; as also to confirm the adventurers and others in the possession of theirs, as far as might

might consist with the rules of justice. Then the parliament proceeded to put the administration of affairs there into such hands as they could best confide in; declaring the government should be again managed by commissioners, as it had been formerly. And having nominated the persons to serve in that employment, they ordered the council of state to draw up instructions for them, and to report them to the house, together with whatsoever else they would think necessary to be done there. They resolved, that Col. Henry Gromwel should be required to come over to give an account of the state of things in Ireland; and impowered the commissioners, or any two of them, to take care of the safety of that nation till farther order.

The committee of safety having dispatched a messenger to our fleet in the Sound before the election of the council of state, to acquaint them with the restitution of the parliament; the officers of the several ships assembled, and sent an acknowledgment of their authority, with all possible demonstrations of satisfaction. Notwithstanding which, being highly sensible of how great importance the sea-affairs are to this nation, we ordered six frigats to be equipped with all diligence, and gave the command of them to Lawson, making him at the same time Vice-Admiral of the fleet. And this we did, as well to prevent an invasion from Flanders; with which the cavalier-party threatened us, as to balance the power of Montague's party, who we knew was no friend to the commonwealth. We treated also with Mynheer Nieuport, Ambassador from the States of Holland, that a good correspondence might be maintained between the  
two

two commonwealths; and that an accord might be made between the two Kings of Denmark and Sweden, who were then enemies, by the interposition of the two states, who agreeing upon equitable terms, might be able to impose them on the refuser. And this we were in hopes to accomplish, the rather because neither the Dutch nor we pretended to any more than a freedom of passing and repassing the Sound; which could not well be, if the command of it were in the hands of either of those princes. The Dutch Ambassador seemed very desirous to finish the treaty; but by several demands which he made in the behalf of their merchants, delayed it so long, that our Agent in Holland had already concluded an agreement with the States; whereby the two commonwealths became engaged to compel that King that should refuse to accept of the conditions which they thought just and reasonable. In order to put this resolution in execution, the States of Holland appointed their plenipotentiaries, and we on our part, did the same, sending thither Col. Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and one Mr. Boon a merchant, to that end. The parliament having taken some measure of care of foreign affairs, began to make provision for the better execution of justice in England; and established judges in the Upper Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer; but designing the reformation of the practice of the law, they for the present nominated no more than were sufficient to make a quorum in each court. The Lord President Bradshaw, Serjeant Fountain, and Serjeant Tyrroll, were made commissioners of the broad seal. And that the Justices of the Peace throughout

throughout England might be fitly qualified for that employment, the house referred to the committee of nominations for civil offices, the consideration of that matter. But finding this work to be full of difficulty, and attended with much envy, the parliament ordered the members for each county to agree on a list of such persons as they should think most proper for that office, and to set their hands to each list. And in case of any difference of opinion, the house, upon hearing both parties, determined the matter. Col. Zanche, Col. Lawrence, Mr. Auditor Roberts, and Maj. Wallis, by the advice of Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, drew up a list of officers for the army in Ireland, and presented it to the committee of nominations; and agreed to make it their request, that I might be appointed Commander in chief of those forces; whether from an opinion that I should thereby be rendered less able to oppose their designs, than by continuing my attendance in parliament; or that none of their grandees could be spared from their cabals at Wallingford-house, is uncertain. But true it is, that no man was less desirous than myself, that I should have that command; well knowing the envy and difficulties that accompanied it, and having ample experience how much easier it was to undertake great employments, than duly to perform the functions of them. Yet finding the officers of Ireland, the committee of nominations, the council of state, and the parliament, all concurring to design me for that post, I thought myself obliged in duty to accept it; though I was resolved not to suffer myself to be banished thither, as I had been formerly by Oliver Cromwell; but to return to  
England

England as soon as I should have done what might be necessary for the security of that country, to contribute my endeavours towards the settlement of a just and equitable constitution of government at home, and to prevent those mischiefs which I perceived the ambition of the army to be bringing upon us. Having opened myself freely concerning these particulars to Sir Henry Vane, it was obtained, that the parliament after they had voted me to be Commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, passed likewise an order, That when I had put the affairs of that country into a posture of security, I should have liberty to return to England. It was my design at the next sitting of the committee of nominations, to move them to propose that Sir Henry Vane might succeed me as Colonel of that regiment which the parliament had intrusted me with, that he might thereby be enabled to discover and prevent the ill designs of the army. But the Presbyterian party in the house, immediately after the parliament had appointed me for the service of Ireland, moved, that Col. Herbert Morley might be made Colonel of my regiment, and carried it. Divers officers who had faithfully served the commonwealth, and amongst them Col. Rich, were restored to their commands, though not without difficulty. And that Maj.-Gen. Lambert might be altogether inexcusable, if he should act against the parliament, they granted him a regiment of horse, and one of foot. Then they gave order for raising a troop of horse for their own guard, and gave the command of it to Col. Alured, who had been a great sufferer on the account of the commonwealth, and very active for the restitution of the parliament.



ment. The troop consisted of about 130 chosen men, nominated by the committee, and approved by the house. Col. Alured scrupled to accept it; thinking it not equivalent to a regiment of horse which he had commanded, though the pay was appointed to be the same. Being in this disposition, he came to me; and, having proposed his doubts, I took the liberty to inform him; as well as I could, of the honour and usefulness of that employment; and having assured him, that if it were offered to me, the circumstances of my affairs permitting, I would prefer it before any other command, he was contented to accept it. Our treasury was so low, through the maladministration of the late governments, that though our plenipotentiaries to the two northern crowns had received their instructions, yet they were obliged to stay a fortnight longer before they could receive the sum of 2000*l.* which had been ordered for the expences of their voyage; the taxes coming in but slowly, and the city of London terrified with the reports of an expected insurrection, being very backward in advancing money. Yet considering the great importance of the town of Dunkirk to the trade and navigation of England, the parliament took the first occasion they could to send one month's pay for the garrison there, to Col. Lockhart, Governor of that place; with instructions to go on with the fortifications, and to have a vigilant eye as well upon the French as the Spaniard. They ordered him to draw the regiments that had been lent to the King of France as near to the town as he could, being under some fears that they might be either detained by the French, or obstructed in their return by the Spanish forces.

forces. And having received information, that the treaty between those two nations went prosperously on, they gave him commission, when he had provided for the security of Dunkirk, to go to the French court, as agent from the parliament; and, if he found encouragement from Card. Mazarine, to take upon him the title and character of ambassador, and then to repair to the place where the treaty was carrying on between the two crowns. Col. Lockhart, according to his instructions, having put all things into a good condition at Dunkirk, and drawn the English regiments out of the French quarters, departed for Paris; and, being arrived, was very well received by the Cardinal; and from thence went to St. John de Luz, which was the place of the treaty. In the mean time, the parliament being very desirous to restore the trade with Spain to this nation, and being informed from Flanders, that the Spanish ministers were willing to come to an accommodation with us, caused divers subjects of Spain, whom Cromwel had made prisoners, to be released; and would not suffer any act of hostility to be used against those of that nation.

The act of indemnity had been read twice, and the house was as desirous to dispatch it as their affairs would permit; yet the necessary time spent in the debate and consideration of it, was made great use of to incense the army against the parliament. Divers warm motions were made for excepting some persons from the benefit of it, who had gotten great estates by their compliance with the usurpation of Oliver Cromwel, and abetting the advancement of his son; and also to except those who had sold places,  
and

and received money for them. But the Chief Justice St. John's had such an influence upon the house, that he procured a clause to be inserted in the bill, to indemnify him for such offices as he had sold in Cromwel's time: which partiality I appeared against so earnestly, that I made him thereby my declared enemy; though I never had expected any sincere friendship from him, because he knew me to be zealous for the regulation of the practice of the law, and himself an obstrueter of all endeavours to that end. The two commissions of Maj.-Gen. Lambert being prepared, and signed by the Speaker, he attended at the door of the house in order to receive them; and being admitted, he was informed by the Speaker, that the parliament, having a good opinion of his abilities and fidelity, had intrusted him with the command of one regiment of horse and one of foot; for which he then, by their order, delivered the commissions to him. The Major-General answered, That as his own inclination and interest led him to promote the service of the parliament, so the obligation they laid on him by so great a trust, should doubly excite him to fidelity and obedience to their commands. And I hope he then intended what he promised, though he afterwards proved an instrument of much disorder and confusion amongst us. Mr. Henry Nevil, a person of singular affection to the commonwealth, moved the house, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood might be made Ranger of St. James's park; and this he did, that no occasion obliging the army might be omitted; which motion was readily consented to by the parliament. And indeed the Lieutenant-General, had he not been too much influenced

VOL. II. S

fluenced by his wife's relations, who pretending that he had injured his brother-in-law, by contributing to lay him aside, continually pressed him to irregular proceedings, in order to make him some satisfaction, might have proved a person as fit to command the forces in chief, as the parliament could have chosen : Though I am not able to see how he could have served him better, unless peradventure, by not consenting to his advancement to the protectorship, than to procure him to be removed with so little detriment to himself, and reflexion on his family ; considering how great a trust his father had betrayed, what dishonour he had brought on the nation, what hardships he had put upon many good men, to the hazard of that just cause which had cost so much blood and treasure of the people.

At this time, the opinions of men were much divided concerning a form of government to be established among us. The great officers of the army, as I said before, were for a select standing senate to be joined to the representative of the people. Others laboured to have the supreme authority to consist of an assembly chosen by the people, and a council of state chosen by that assembly to be vested with the executive power, and accountable to that which should next succeed ; at which time the power of the said council should determine. Some were desirous to have a representative of the people constantly sitting, but changed by a perpetual rotation. Others proposed, that there might be joined to the popular assembly, a select number of men in the nature of the Lacedæmonian Ephori, who should have a negative in things wherein the  
essentials

essentials of the government should be concerned; such as, the exclusion of a single person, touching liberty of conscience, alteration of the constitution, and other things of the last importance to the state. Some were of opinion, that it would be most conducing to the public happiness, if there might be two councils chosen by the people; the one to consist of about 300, and to have the power only of debating and proposing laws; the other to be in number about 1000, and to have the power finally to resolve and determine; every year a third part of each council to go out, and others to be chosen in their places. For my own part, if I may be permitted to declare my opinion, I could willingly have approved either of the two latter propositions; presuming them to be most likely to preserve our just liberties, and to render us a happy people.

Some members of the council of state proposed at the board, that the parliament should be moved to appoint twenty of their own number, and ten of the principal officers of the army, to consider of a form of government, to be reported to the parliament; and if they should approve it, that then the whole army should be drawn out, and declare their consent to it. Which proposition, though it seemed then to find a general approbation, yet proved abortive; and the parliament themselves passed a resolution, that on every Wednesday the house should go into a grand committee to consider of that matter,

In the act of indemnity a clause had been inserted, to restrain the favour of the parliament, regard of those who, under the usurpation, had received exorbitant and double salaries; to

the great discontent of divers considerable persons, who feared they might be concerned in it. In particular, Maj.-Gen. Lambert meeting me the next morning after the act was passed, most bitterly exclaimed against it; saying, amongst other things, that though there was no security given by the act to indemnify them for what they had done, yet the parliament had taken care to make them liable to be questioned for whatsoever they had received. To which I answered, That, in my opinion, all the soldiers were indemnified for what they had received; and that if the parliament should ever make use of that clause, it would only be against those who had enriched themselves by the ruin of the commonwealth, and had opposed the return of the parliament to the exercise of their authority; that I persuaded myself he could not think that such a sort of men deserved the favour and consideration of the parliament equally with those who had contributed towards their restitution. Having said this, Sir Arthur Haslerig joined us; and the conversation continuing on the same subject, Sir Arthur affirmed, that the act was as full and comprehensive as could justly be desired. But the Major-General said, that it signified nothing, and that it left them still at mercy. "You are, said Sir Arthur, only at the mercy of the parliament, who are your good friends." "I know not, said Lambert, why they should not be put at our mercy as well as we at theirs." These words, as they sounded very harsh to my ears, so they did confirm me in the suspicion I had of the design that was then on foot. And though Sir Arthur Haslerig contented himself only to shake his head, because divers officers

were

were there present ; yet meeting me the next morning in the Speaker's chamber, he told me, that if the two regiments had not been already given to Maj.-Gen. Lambert, he should never have them with his consent.

The order requiring Col. Cromwel to come over from Ireland, and to give an account of affairs there, being signified to him, he retired to a house called *the Phoenix*, belonging to the chief Governor of Ireland, leaving Col. Thomas Long in the castle of Dublin ; whether with an intention of keeping it, I am not assured ; but the commissioners suspecting the worst, and being very desirous to be possessed of it, employed Sir Hardress Waller to surprize the place ; who finding the power of Col. Cromwel to decline, and that of the parliament to increase, was very willing to attempt it ; and being ready to enter by a postern into the castle, the place was immediately surrendered to him. Col. Cromwel, perceiving it to be to no purpose to stay longer in Ireland, departed for London ; and, being arrived, acquainted me with the time that he designed to attend the council of state, and desired me that I would be present. But I could not ; for the house of Hampton-court having been ordered to be sold that day, which place I thought very convenient for the retirement of those that were employed in public affairs, when they should be indisposed, in the summer-season, I resolved to endeavour to prevent the sale of it ; and accordingly procured a motion to be made at the sitting down of the house to that end ; which took effect as I desired. For this I was very much blamed by my good friend Sir Henry Vane, as a thing which





meeting me the next  
chamber, he told me,  
had not been already  
rt, he should never  
t.

Col. Cromwel to come  
give an account of af-  
to him, he retired to  
x, belonging to the  
, leaving Col. Tho-  
of Dublin; whether  
ng it, I am not assu-  
suspecting the worst,  
be possessed of it, em-  
to surprise the place;  
Col. Cromwel to de-  
riament to increase,  
t it; and being ready  
the castle, the place  
dered to him. Col.  
be to no purpose to  
departed for London;  
ainted me with the  
attend the council of  
at I would be present.  
ouse of Hampton-court  
e sold that day, which  
venient for the retire-  
employed in public af-  
be indisposed, in the  
ed to endeavour to pre-  
accordingly procured a  
the sitting down of the  
ich took effect as I desi-  
very much blamed by my  
Vane, as a thing which

was contrary to the interest of a commonwealth. He said, that such places might justly be accounted amongst those things that prove temptations to ambitious men, and exceedingly tend to sharpen their appetite to ascend the throne. But, for my own part, as I was free from any sinister design in this action, so I was of opinion, that the temptation of sovereign power would prove a far stronger motive to aspire by the sword to gain the sceptre; which, when once attained, would soon be made use of to force the people to supply the want of such an accommodation. Col. Henry Martin moved at the same time, that the chapel belonging to Somerset-house might not be sold, because it was the place of meeting for the French church; and this request was also granted; but the house itself was sold for the sum of 10,000 l. Then it was moved, that Whitehall might be also sold; and it was said, that 60,000 l. might be had for it, in order to erect new buildings on the ground where it stands; but nothing was done farther in this matter.

And now I began to think it time to hasten my journey to Ireland; where my station was assigned to me for some time; and, in order to my departure, I received four commissions from the hands of the Speaker, as the parliament had directed. By the first I was appointed Commander in chief of all the forces in Ireland; the second was for a regiment of horse; the third was for a regiment of foot; and by the fourth I was made Lieutenant-General of the Horse. Which last commission being read before the committee of nominations by Sir Arthur Haslerig, who in this whole affair of regulating the army had served the parliament for Secretary without any

any salary, Col. Desborough desired, that it might be explained how far it should extend; suspecting that it might intrench upon the command of the horse in England and Scotland, which some thought he designed for himself. But Sir Arthur Haslerig declined to give him any other answer, than that it was well enough. In this commission a clause was inserted, which had been omitted in the other three, because not thought of before, requiring me to obey, not only such orders as I should receive from the parliament and council of state, but also all such as should be signified to me from time to time from the commissioners of the parliament for the affairs of Ireland. This I was so far from disliking, that I procured another order to be made, that the pay of the army should be issued out by the commissioners; and that no money, except only for contingencies, should be issued out by the Commander in chief. Having prepared myself for my journey, I took leave of the principal officers of the army; and on that occasion most earnestly requested of Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Col. Desborough, Col. Sydenham, Col. Berry, and others, that, as they valued the good of the public, and their own safety, they would be careful not to violate the authority of the parliament, who I persuaded myself were more ready to do any thing that might tend to the preservation of our liberties than we were to ask it. And, at my parting with Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Henry Nevil, Mr. Scot, Maj. Sallo-way, and the rest of my good friends that were members of the parliament, I took the liberty to beg of them not to put any unnecessary hardships

ships upon those of the army, but rather to gratify them in whatsoever they could; that if, after all the condescensions and favours of the parliament to them, they should be so unjust and ungrateful to offer violence to the house, they might be left inexcusable in the sight of God and men.

Being on my way to take shipping for Ireland, accompanied by Col. John Jones, and being come as far as Whitchurch, one Capt. Whetway of Chester met us there, and informed us of a design to rise in and about that country by the Presbyterian and Cavalier parties in conjunction; who gave out, that Sir George Booth, the Earl of Derby, the Lord Cherbury, and other persons of quality and estate, were concerned with them. We, according to our duty, immediately gave an account of what we had heard to the council of state, and desired them to inquire into the matter. Then we proceeded in our journey; and being arrived at Holy-head, we found a small vessel carrying about ten guns, sent thither by the commissioners of the parliament to transport us to Ireland, they having at that time no ship of greater force on that coast. Here we met my cousin Roger Ludlow, who was then newly landed from Ireland; but, finding us ready to set sail, he returned thither with us. At our arrival within the bar of Dublin, we found Mr. Justice Coke, and my brother-in-law, attending with their coaches; by which means we had an opportunity to go that evening to my house at Monckton. The next morning, before I could get out, the Major and Aldermen of Dublin came to welcome me into the country, and to pay the usual civilities. And at the Rings-  
end

end I found the guard that had formerly attended Col. Cromwel, drawn up by the order of Sir Hardress Waller, with Col. Theophilus Jones at the head of them; all of them expressing their readiness to serve me, and so accompanied me to the city. Being arrived at Dublin, I went immediately to wait on the commissioners of parliament who were then sitting, and had been debating touching the manner of their deportment towards me; the result of which they informed me was, That each of them should successively take the chair for one month; that they would desire me to give them my assistance when the affairs of the army would permit; that I should sit with them when they sat as commissioners, in the next place to the chairman; and that in all other places I should have the precedency. I returned them my thanks for the honour they did me; and earnestly desired to be excused in the last particular, having always declared it to be my opinion, that the military ought to submit to the civil power. But they told me, that since it had been so resolved, they would not permit me to speak any more about it. Then I delivered to them a warrant from the council of state, authorising Mr. Blackwel and Mr. Standish, the Deputy-Treasurers for Ireland, to charge, by bill of exchange or otherwise, the treasurers of war in England with 30,000*l.* for the service of Ireland. Which having done, I went into another room, where the officers of the army were appointed to be, and gave them an account of the return of the parliament the exercise of their authority; by whose wisdom and justice so many things had been formerly done for the advantage and glory of the  
English

English nation, and by whose care and good economy they themselves had been provided for, in such a manner as had never been practised in later times, nor indeed could reasonably be expected from any other persons than from those, who as they are called the fathers of the country, so they have the tenderness and affection of parents for all those who take care to deserve their kindness and protection. I assured them of their good intentions for the public happiness, and to them in particular; and that as they were passing an act to secure to the soldiers the possession of those lands that had been assigned to them for their arrears, so they would take care to cause their armies to be constantly paid for the future; that the parliament themselves had appointed such officers to be placed over them, as had given demonstration of their affections to the public in the late times of defection. I also informed them, that the parliament had done me the honour to appoint me to be Commander in chief of their forces in Ireland, as they might more fully understand by the commission itself; which I then ordered to be read in their presence: and that done, I proceeded to tell them, that, being sensible of my own imperfections, and the great weight and importance of my present employment, I had neither directly nor indirectly endeavoured to obtain it: but considering that my superiors, by virtue of their authority, at the desire of divers officers commissioned by the army, had called me to the exercise of it, I was resolved to endeavour faithfully to discharge the duty of my station, and to adventure the utmost hazards for the public good; wherein I doubted not of their cheer-  
ful

ful and ready assistance. The officers seeming well satisfied with what I had said, I dismissed them for that time.

Soon after my coming to Dublin, we received advice, by a message from England, of an insurrection against the parliament under Sir George Booth, and that Chester was seized for the King. Upon which I caused the officers to meet; and taking into our consideration how we might best preserve the peace of Ireland, and prevent the like mischiefs there, we immediately dispatched as many officers as could be spared to their respective charges. And because we were under the greatest apprehensions for the northern parts, where the Scots, and other disaffected persons, were in great numbers, we sent Maj. Dean, an active and good officer, to command some troops of horse that were in those parts. We resolved also to send for the Lord Broghill, with Maj. Warden and Maj. Pouden, two of his officers, and to require them to give satisfaction touching their acquiescence under the present government. And that I might contribute what I could towards quenching that fire that had broken out in England, having received information, in my late journey through part of Wales, that the small garrisons of Denbigh, Beaumaris, Carnarvan, and Holyhead, were undermanned, I sent over 100 foot to be distributed amongst them. Which small supply came so seasonable, that it not only prevented the enemy from rising in those parts; but enabled the governors of those forts to send out parties to bring in provisions for the garrisons, of which they stood in great need. Col. Edmond Temple being at Chester when the insurrection began in those parts,

parts, was seized by the rebels, and carried before Sir George Booth; who finding that he was going to embark for Ireland, permitted him to proceed in his voyage. At his arrival, he gave us an account, that Col. Croxton, who was Governor of Chester, finding it in vain to endeavour to keep the town, had made use of the time he had to provide all things necessary to maintain the castle till relief could be sent. He acquainted us also, that 3 or 400 of the enemy's horse had marched into the town of Chester; that Sir George Booth was their Commander in chief, and that the principal persons with them were, the Earl of Derby, the Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee of Limehouse, and Capt. Morgan. He added, that being asked by Sir George Booth, if he had not heard of any rising in other parts? and having informed him that he had found all quiet on the road from London, Sir George seemed much surprised and discouraged, saying, that other promises had been made to him.

By the next account we received from England, we had notice that a party of horse had appeared in Derbyshire, though, by the vigilance and courage of our friends in that county, they were speedily dispersed or taken. We were likewise informed, that the Earl of Stamford had been at the head of a party, according to a promise he had made to Sir George Booth; but finding them not considerable, he had either surrendered himself, or been seized without any opposition. In Staffordshire, from whence the enemy expected great assistance, their designs were prevented by the diligence of Col. Crompton and Capt. Bathurst, who had secured the principal



principal persons that were suspected in that county. Col. Massey was seized at a Gentleman's house in Gloucestershire, with some ammunition; and by that means their designs in the west were disappointed. And though there appeared about threescore horse, with one Bassett, near Bath, and about the same number near Malmesbury; yet wanting the Colonel to head them, and being informed of the march of the county-troop against them, they dispersed themselves. Some of these, with others from the borders of Hampshire, went and joined the body that was commanded by Sir George Booth. Sir Thomas Middleton, who had made me a visit when I was going to Ireland, and had assured me of his resolution to continue steadfast in the interest of the commonwealth, did, either through dotage, being almost fourscore years of age, or through the importunity of others, or the natural depravity of his own heart, appear at the head of the cavalier-party at Wrexham; and there waving his sword about his head, caused Charles Stuart to be proclaimed King in the market-place. Which encouraged the enemy so much, that they immediately sent out a party to possess themselves of Shrewsbury. But tho' the malecontents were very numerous in that town, and ready to join with them; yet Capt. Waring, with the militia-troop, in conjunction with many well-affected persons that went to him from Wrexham, and some others which he got together on a sudden, prevented their design, and secured that place for the parliament. This was a great disappointment to the enemy, not only because it kept their friends in those parts from rising, but in a great measure obstructed

VOL. II. T

structed their correspondence with the western counties. However, it being reported that Coventry had declared for them, they received fresh encouragement, and hoped that it might prove an occasion to divert the London forces from advancing towards them, and were not without expectations of a party to appear for them in or about London. Neither were their hopes in this particular without foundation: for the Presbyterian party did so greatly favour this abominable design, wherein the whole Popish party was likewise engaged, that many of them, though they could not be drawn to join in the dangerous part of acting against the parliament, yet openly denied their assistance to suppress the enemy. Of this sort was Col. Fotherby, who commanded the forces in the county of Warwick, and had faithfully served the parliament to this time, yet now refused to act for them. So that old Col. Purefoy, who had one foot in the grave, was obliged to undertake that employment in those parts; wherein he used such diligence, and succeeded so well, that he kept the city of Coventry, and the adjacent country, in the obedience of the parliament. And though the contagion had infected many within the city of London, yet the vigilance and diligence of the parliament prevented it from manifesting itself in an open revolt, by a timely seizing or frightening away such as were most dangerous to the public peace. The messenger that had been sent to Ireland from the council of state, brought orders to me for 1000 foot and 500 horse, to be sent to their assistance in England. And though, considering the posture of our affairs, the suspicion we had of the Scots,

Scots, the number of the Irish, and that spirit of revenge they were possessed with, together with the condition of our own forces, who had been debauching for some years from the interest of the commonwealth, we seemed rather to stand in need of relief from England, than to be in a capacity of sending any thither; yet, having received such orders from our superiors, we thought it our duty to obey them. And therefore, by the advice of the field-officers, it was resolved to draw together those forces that lay most convenient for transportation; and that the public service might not suffer by any delay that could be avoided, the commissioners of parliament caused an imbargo to be laid upon all the vessels then in the harbour. Lt-Gen. Fleetwood having, in a letter to me, desired that Col. Zanche might command the forces to be sent from Ireland, I readily consented to it, having no suspicion of any design concealed under that request. And being informed by Col. Axetel, that he also had some important affairs in England, which he had left unsettled, I appointed him to command the foot. Lt-Col. Walker, Maj. Rawlins, Maj. Bolton, and Maj. Godfrey, were the rest of the field-officers. I ordered, that the party to be transported to England should be drawn to Dublin; and as soon as a considerable number of them were arrived there, orders were dispatched for their transportation, on assurance that the speedy landing of our forces from Ireland would tend to the discouragement of our enemies, and great encouragement of our friends. Having drawn the first party, which was to be embarked, to the water-side, consisting of about 400, we caused two months pay to

be advanced to them; one to enable them to pay their debts in Ireland; the other was put into the hands of Lt-Col. Walker, who commanded them, to be delivered to them as soon as they should arrive in England. The officers and soldiers undertook the service with all imaginable chearfulness. And one of the vessels that was appointed to carry Capt. Jacomb and his company, not being able to approach so near the shore, as to make it convenient for the soldiers to imbarck, the Captain put himself into the water; which his men seeing, they soon followed his example; and all together, with the sea almost up to the shoulders, marched through to the ship. They had a very favourable passage; and landed seasonably in England: for it happened, that the third day after their arrival, Lt-Col. Walker took up his quarters at a town in Carnarvanshire, where many disaffected Gentlemen and others of those parts had appointed to rendezvous the next day. But fearing he might ruin the country if they appeared in arms, they quitted their design, and kept themselves at home.

The parliament, though they had resolved to send some forces against Sir George Booth, yet they were doubtful to whom they should commit that province. And whilst that matter was under their consideration, some persons of the King's party addressed themselves to the wife of Col. Lambert, endeavouring to persuade her, to solicit her husband to be the instrument of the King's return, with large offers of whatsoever terms he would demand. She acquainted the Colonel with their propositions. But he having resolved to play another part, discovered the whole

whole intrigue to Sir Henry Vane; who having communicated it to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and knowing there had been some late differences between the Colonel and Sir Arthur, he persuaded them to renew their former friendship, with promises on each part, to unite their endeavours in the service of the parliament. By this means chiefly it was, that Col. Lambert was soon after appointed to command those forces that were designed to suppress the insurrection in Cheshire. In this conjuncture, the parliament sent an order to Col. Monk, who then commanded their forces in Scotland, to send them two regiments of foot, and two of horse. But he excused himself, under colour of the enemy's strength, and inclination to revolt; though there were not wanting some who then thought that his engagements with the common enemy were the true reasons of that refusal. And it is certain, that a Gentleman from the King had been with him: and though what passed between them was not made public, yet, since he did not seize him, as it was his duty, but permitted him to return safely from whence he came, he may justly be suspected even then to have betrayed those whom he pretended to serve. The second party I sent for England, was commanded by Col. Axtel; and the third by Col. Zanche, to whom I gave also a commission to command the whole brigade of horse and foot; requiring him to take all advantages against the enemy, to relieve our friends, and to obey all such orders as he should from time to time receive from the parliament, the council of state, Col. Lambert, or me. Thus the whole number of the forces demanded by the parliament was

shipped off within ten days after I had received their order, though some of them were quartered at a great distance from Dublin; and both horse and foot landed very seasonably in England, though not without a sad loss: for the ship wherein Maj. Bolton and Maj. Rawlins, with above thirty private soldiers, had embarked, sprung a leak in her passage, and sunk down. The Irish brigade being joined, and arrived at Chester, they sent to Col. Croxton, to let him know, that if he should be driven to extremity before any relief should come to him from London, they had resolved to attempt it themselves.

On the 6th of August 1659, Col. Lambert, at the head of three regiments of horse, one of dragoons, and three regiments of foot, marched from London, against Sir George Booth, and his party, who were about 4000 in number. The enemy had possessed themselves of the town of Warrington, and had placed a party of about 300 to defend it; having lodged their main body on the other side of the river, and posted a good number of men to keep the bridge against ours. At this place the forces on each side met; and the enemy began the action, by sending out a party to skirmish with an advanced party of Col. Lambert: but being repulsed, and retreating beyond the bridge, their body of horse, consisting of about 17 or 1800, one half whereof they reported to be Gentlemen, began to run before our horse could come up to charge them, leaving their foot to be cut in pieces, except only about thirty or forty of their horse, commanded by Capt. Morgan; who endeavouring to secure their retreat, was killed in the action. Many of their foot escaped by leaping over the hedges, and

and hiding themselves. But their surest protection was their having engaged against those that were more ready to save, than destroy them. So that though the whole force of the enemy was entirely defeated, yet there were not above forty of them killed. About 6 or 700 of their horse, in scattered and broken parties, fled to Chester; but not thinking themselves safe there, they went into North-Wales; and the town was delivered up to Col. Lambert. Sir George Booth, after his defeat, put himself into a woman's habit, and with two servants hoped to escape to London, riding behind one of them. The single horseman going before, went to an inn on the road; and as he had been ordered, bespoke a supper for his mistress, who, he said, was coming after. The pretended mistress being arrived, either by alighting from the horse, or some other action, raised a suspicion in the master of the house, that there was some mystery under that dress. And thereupon resolving to make a full inquiry into the matter, he got together some of his neighbours to assist him, and with them entered the room where the pretended Lady was. But Sir George Booth suspecting their intentions, and being unwilling to put them to the trouble of a farther search, discovered himself. Whereupon they took him into their custody, and sent him up to London; where the parliament committed him prisoner to the Tower. From the sad consideration of these, and other unsuccessful attempts, the cavalier-party, and those that sided with them, began to despair, and to give their cause for lost, unless, by divisions amongst ourselves, we should render our victories useless to us: which fell out  
sooner

sooner than they expected. For the officers of the army, whom nothing would satisfy less than an absolute tyranny over the nation, notwithstanding the solemn engagement they had taken before the parliament at the time when they received their commissions from the hands of the Speaker, and all their expressions of sorrow for their former apostasy, so often repeated in their last declarations; these wretched men, I say, contrary to their faith, and the duties of common honesty, resolved to destroy the parliament, and, in imitation of their late master, Oliver, to sacrifice the common cause to their insatiable ambition. In order to this, Lt-Gen. Fleetwood moved the house, at the time when they had received the account of Sir George Booth's defeat, that they would appoint Col. Lambert to be Major-General of their army. And this was done, upon certain assurance, that Sir Arthur Haslerig, and other members, would endeavour to obstruct it; whereby they doubted not the Colonel would be so far disobliged, as to be ready to join with them in their detestable design. And it succeeded according to their expectations: for Sir Arthur Haslerig, well knowing that in a free commonwealth no man ought to be trusted with too great power, and especially such as had made very ill use of it before, prevailed with the parliament to declare, that they would not create any more general officers than those that were so already; which method they took, that they might not seem to put a negative upon him in particular. The Lieutenant-General having attained his end in the first motion, was encouraged to move again, that seeing the house had not thought fit to do as he  
had



had proposed, they would be pleased to present the sum of 500 or 1000 l. to Col. Lambert, as a mark of their favour, to be conferred on him in consideration of his late service. This proposition was most willingly entertained, Sir Arthur Haslerig concurring with those who were for the greater sum; which was paid to him accordingly. But the parliament's refusal to gratify him with the title before mentioned, was aggravated to that degree, that he, together with many officers more, amongst whom he had an interest, became most implacable enemies to the parliament. In the mean time a committee was sent to examine Sir George Booth in the Tower, touching the design wherein he had been engaged, and the persons that had promised to join with him. He confessed to have received a commission from the King, and that many of the Nobility and Gentry had promised to appear with him; whereof he discovered some, and desired more time to recollect himself concerning others.

During these transactions, I had endeavoured as well as I could to dispatch those affairs in Ireland which were intrusted to my care. I had delivered out new commissions to the officers there, and had disposed of several commands, that were either vacant by the refusal of some to take the engagement enjoined by the parliament, or in the hands of persons disaffected to the government. I had furnished the garrisons with provisions and ammunition for three months, and settled a militia in each county as considerable as the army itself; consisting, for the most part, of men that had experience, and had readily engaged to be true and faithful to  
the

the commonwealth. This work was attended with many difficulties: for I found divers of the officers guilty of habitual immoralities, many of them accustomed to detain the pay of the private soldiers, and most of them debauched in their principles by the late usurpation of the Cromwells. I endeavoured to clear the army of such as were most guilty, and thereby hoped to reform the rest. I also appointed fit persons to inquire into the principles and practices of the private soldiers, as well horse as foot; and, upon full information, dismissed such as appeared incorrigible, and placed others in the room of them, of whom we had better hopes; together with as many of those as we could find, who had been cashiered on account of their affection to the parliament.

Upon the news of our success against Sir George Booth, Col. Lockhart, our Ambassador at the Pyrennean treaty, began to be courted by the Spaniard, as he had been before by the French; and our plenipotentiaries met with good success in their mediation for an agreement between the two northern crowns; and the Dutch not daring to attempt what they had designed for the King of Denmark, the two Kings were in a fair way to a peace, though the King of Sweden had expressed his discontent, that the two commonwealths should form conditions to be imposed upon crowned heads: but being told by Col. Algernon Sidney, that the friendship of England was not to be obtained on any other terms, he seemed to acquiesce. But to return from my digression.

In the month of September 1659, a petition came to my hands, that had been addressed to  
the

he parliament, from the officers of that brigade which was commanded by Col. Lambert, and signed from Derby; wherein they aspersed the parliament, for not endeavouring to suppress the late rebellion with such vigour as they ought, for not punishing those who had been engaged in it, and for not rewarding the officers who had defeated the enemy. They pressed for a settlement of the government after their own mode, in a representative of the people, and a select senate. And for the better discovery of their arbitrary designs, they demanded, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood might be made Commander in chief of the army, without any limitation of time; Col. Lambert appointed Major-General, Col. Desborough Lieutenant-General of the horse, and Col. Monk Major-General of the foot. To which they added, that no officer of the army should be dismissed from his command, unless by a court-martial. Copies of this petition were sent by Col. Zanchey into Ireland, accompanied with letters, to desire that it might be communicated to the officers there, and their concurrence procured. Being sensible of the ill effects that might arise from this wicked attempt, if it should succeed, according to their hopes, amongst the officers in Ireland, I summoned as many of them as were quartered near Dublin to meet there; and being met, I endeavoured to convince them of the deformity and hazard of this design of the army; desiring them to remember how successful they had been, whilst they contained themselves within their proper station, and how all their attempts had miscarried when they intermeddled with those things that did not belong to them; and that they

they would not forget how well the army had been paid, as long as the parliament had the management of affairs, and how much they had been in arrears since that time. I shewed them, that the parliament could not fail of coming to a speedy determination touching the settlement of a just and equal government, since they had declared, that a period should be put to their sitting in the month of May next following; that the nation would never endure to be governed by the sword; that it was a mere calumny to say, that the parliament had not contributed their endeavours towards the suppression of the late tumults; for nothing could have been attempted against the enemy, but by their orders; that it was manifest they had gratified those who had been instrumental in that service, having freely given the sum of 1000 l. to Col. Lambert, and 200 l. to Lt-Col. Duckenfield; and that no private soldier who had been concerned in that action, might remain unrewarded, they had given the personal estate of Sir Thomas Middleton, amounting to about 3000 l. to be distributed amongst them. I endeavoured to persuade them, that the commission granted to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood was as full and ample as could justly be desired; he being thereby appointed to continue in his command, till the parliament should find cause to the contrary: that if they had refused to make more general officers, it was because they knew it to be unnecessary and dangerous; and that Col. Lambert without the title of Major-General, had done as good service as if he had been graced with that addition. Then the council of officers entered upon the debate of the heads of the petition,

tion, from point to point; and, after mature deliberation, unanimously declared their dislike of it, and their resolutions to acknowledge the supreme authority of the nation to be in the parliament, and to stand by them in the prosecution of the common cause wherein they had been employed. And because a petition to that effect could not be immediately drawn, I sent away the said resolutions that very day to Sir Arthur Haslerig, with a promise of a farther declaration as soon as possible; resolving not to neglect this opportunity, out of a belief that our proceedings might be of use, as well to encourage our friends, as to discourage our enemies in England. It may be observed, that in this conjuncture Col. Monk sent also letters to the parliament, declaring his resolution not to join in the dangerous counsels of the army, but to keep the officers that were under his command within the rules of modesty and obedience.

The army not unmindful of their grand design, persuaded some of their friends in the parliament, to move for an order to continue Alderman Ireton, then Mayor, and one of their confidants, in that office for the next succeeding year. And the parliament seemed at the first inclined to grant their request, having perceived great discontents amongst the citizens of London at the time of the late insurrections. But the spirit of sedition being much allayed since the suppression of the rebels, the city petitioned the parliament to permit them the enjoyment of their privilege to elect their Mayor; promising to employ that favour, and all that they had, for their service. Whereupon they were permitted to proceed in that affair according to custom.

stom. And Sir Thomas Allen, a man of a moderate spirit, being chosen, they invited the parliament, and chief officers of the army, to a splendid entertainment, at dinner.

By this time I had almost completed a list, for new-modelling the army in Ireland, in order to be presented to the committee of nominations. And thinking it necessary, before my departure, for England, to remove such persons as gave the greatest cause of suspicion, I filled their places with those in whom I might best confide, and who had given evident proof of their affection to the public. There remained another business of the greatest importance, and wherein I found it difficult to come to a resolution; and that was, to appoint a person to command the forces in Ireland in my absence. My inclinations led me to lodge that power with the commissioners of the parliament. But Lt-Gen. Fleetwood pressed me so earnestly against it, that I was prevailed with to lay aside that thought. It is probable, that the Lieutenant-General was unwilling to have it discovered, that such an office might be managed by more than one, lest it should tend to the diminution of his own power, he being Commander in chief of the forces in England and Scotland. But the parliament having made no distinction amongst the Colonels, by any superior titles, I was much embarrassed how to proceed. Col. Zanchey was the eldest Colonel, and most earnestly desired the employment. But when I considered his carriage, in the contriving, abetting, and promoting that base petition lately sent from Derby, by the officers of the army, to the parliament, as I mentioned before, I could not think him to be a man  
proper

proper for so great a trust. Sir Hardress Waller had been Major-General of the foot, one of the late King's judges, and of good ability and experience in war. But he having complied with every party that had been uppermost, and especially having not yet received the parliament's confirmation for the regiment he commanded, I durst by no means intrust him with the command of the entire forces. After much deliberation, I resolved, as the best expedient I could find, to nominate Col. John Jones to command the forces of Ireland in my absence; he being a member of parliament, one of the late King's judges, and one of the commissioners of parliament for the administration of the civil government in Ireland. By virtue of which qualifications, I hoped he might be approved by the parliament, acceptable to the officers of the army, and steadfast in the defence of the common cause. Having taken this resolution, and being willing to keep a good correspondence with the army in England, I informed Lt-Gen. Fleetwood with my intentions; desiring, that if he approved my choice, he would procure the parliament to be moved to give their approbation. But he having, it seems, cast off his respect to the parliament, returned me in answer, That I was sufficiently authorised by my commission to constitute one to command in chief during my absence; and that I had made, in his opinion, a very good choice. All this while I had not acquainted Col. Jones with my resolution touching him, nor intended to do it till the time of my departure drew near, and till I had prepared the officers of the army to give him their assistance in the execution of his charge. To this

U 2

end,

end, I discoursed with Sir Hardress Waller, and freely told him the reasons why I had not appointed him to command in chief; assuring him, that I had committed that employment to one of the commissioners of the parliament, in a great measure, out of respect to him, that I might not be obliged to lodge it with Col. Zanche; who though he was a younger officer, yet, being the first that was commissioned by the parliament, expected it of course. Sir Hardress seemed well satisfied with what I had said, and promised his hearty assistance to Col. Jones. There was no necessity to labour so much to give satisfaction to Sir Charles Coote in this particular: for he seemed to aim at nothing more, than to keep his government in Connaught, of which province he was president by act of parliament; and to have his regiment of foot, and troop of horse, continued to him. I assured him of my endeavours, that all those things might be confirmed to him by the parliament, in hopes that he would employ them in the defence and preservation of that authority, under which he had done so many services, and from whom he had received so many marks of favour. This he promised to do; and added, That he was fully convinced, that his interest was wholly involved in the preservation of the parliament, all that he enjoyed being derived from their authority; and that as he had opposed the late King in his arbitrary designs, so he would continue to act in conformity to those actions; well knowing, that, if the son should happen to prevail, the English interest would be lost in Ireland, and the Irish restored to the possession of their lands, according to an agreement passed between them. So, having given me these assurances, he took his leave,



leave, in order to return to his government.

The petition before mentioned, that had been agreed on by the officers of the army at Derby, coming to the knowledge of the parliament, with the endeavours that were used to procure subscriptions to it, some, who knew it to be a contrivance of Col. Lambert, moved that he might be sent to the Tower: and it had been well, either that the motion had better succeeded, or that it had never been made. But it ended only in passing a vote to disapprove the petition, and the proceedings thereupon; and to require Lt-Gen. Fleetwood to send letters to all parts to obstruct any farther progress therein. One of the said letters was sent to Ireland; which in effect was answered before it came, we having drawn up a petition in consequence of our vote, which I mentioned before; wherein, after we had asserted our cause, desired a just and equal magistracy, and the reformation of such things as should be found amiss in church and state, we assured the parliament of our readiness to lay down our lives in their service, and in the prosecution of those great ends. This affair being dispatched, Col. Lawrence, who I am persuaded was accessory to the design carried on at Wallingford-house, suspecting that, whilst I staid in Ireland, the army there could not be wrought upon by that faction, advised me to hasten my departure; telling me, that Ireland being now settled, I might do more good in England, where my assistance might be wanted. I suspected not the sincerity of his counsel: and having divers reasons to move me to it, I prepared myself for my journey; and, with much difficulty, prevailed with Serjeant Steel, who had

supplied the place of Chancellor during the usurpation, to remain in Ireland; though he earnestly desired to go over with me about some affairs relating to his office. But I thought it might prove too great a discouragement to our friends, if we should both leave them together; and therefore promised him to endeavour that nothing might pass the parliament relating to the courts of justice in Ireland, till he should be heard concerning it. These things done, I acquainted Col. Jones with my resolution; who, after some expressions of modesty and gratitude, accepted the employment, and promised to apply himself with all possible fidelity and diligence to the discharge of it. Upon which promise and acceptance, I went to the commissioners, and desired their approbation. But Col. Thomson, who was one of them, either from a belief that I had not power to constitute a deputy, or resenting that he was not the person, or at least joined in the commission with Col. Jones, moved the rest of the commissioners not to intermeddle in that affair; though without effect: For it was carried against his opinion at the board; and Col. Jones approved, in virtue of a clause in my commission, authorising me to depute whom I thought fit for leading and conducting the army. In consequence of this, they passed an order to confirm my choice; and to require all Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, and other inferior officers, &c. to yield obedience to him, in the execution of the commission which he had received from me. Then I called a council of officers, and informed them that the commissioners of parliament and myself had empowered Col. John Jones, of whose fidelity to the

the public, and peculiar affection to them, they had large experience, to command the army during the time that their service might detain me in England; desiring them to afford him the best of their assistance in the execution of that trust; which they unanimously promised to do. Before my departure, the Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin having formed the militia of that place, whereof both officers and soldiers had taken the engagement, they were desirous to give some public expression of their affection to the commonwealth; and to that end, on the day I designed to embark, they drew their forces into the field, consisting of about 1200 foot, and 120 horse, that I might view them, and report to the parliament their readiness to serve the public. Accordingly the commissioners in their coaches, and I with the officers of the army on horseback, took a view of them, as they were drawn up on the college-green; being all very well equipped, and drawn up in good order; and indeed so exact in the performance of their exercise, that one would have thought them to have been long in the service. Here they repeated their resolutions to serve the cause of God and their country with the utmost of their endeavours, and promised to live and die with us in the assertion of our just rights and liberties. When they had finished their exercise, I took leave of each officer at the head of his respective company; and went that evening to my house at Monckton, in order to embark for England. The commissioners of the parliament did me the honour to accompany me about half a mile out of town. And the officers of the army would have attended me to my house; but

but because it was late, I would not permit Sir Hardress Waller and the rest of the officers to go farther than half way. The next day, after I had signed such commissions and orders as I thought necessary, and was ready to go on board, Col. Jones, Sir Hardress Waller, with most of the officers about Dublin, and my good friend Chief Justice Coke, came down to me, and accompanied me to the sea-side; where we took leave of each other with mutual recommendations to the direction and protection of almighty God. The next day I arrived in the road without the bay of Beaumaris; and there meeting with some vessels coming from Chester, I inquired of them if the Irish brigade were yet put to sea for Ireland; having been assured that the council of state had given orders for their transportation. They informed me, that the said brigade had lain long at the water-side, in order to embark, and had prepared many vessels to that end; but that all the ships were now discharged, upon orders received from Col. Zanchey for those forces to march for London. This information gave me occasion to suspect what was soon after confirmed to me: for at my arrival in the bay, which was in the evening, the Governor of Beaumaris and another officer came to me on board; and informed me, that the army had offered violence a second time to the parliament, and resumed the power into their hands. This astonishing news put me into a doubt whether I should return to my command in Ireland, or continue my journey to London. On the one hand, I considered, that those who were under my particular care and conduct being in Ireland, my presence might be necessary amongst

amongst them, to excite them to the performance of their duty. On the other side, when I called to mind that I had done as much as I could to secure their service to the parliament, that I had brought a declaration from them to that purpose, and left the chief command in the hands of a person who had great reasons to move him to be faithful in his charge, I was inclined to go forward in my journey. And when I considered the mischiefs likely to follow upon a breach between the parliament and army, which I concluded would inevitably prove the ruin of both; and that it was not impossible that I might contribute something towards a reconciliation; in conclusion, knowing that in my way I should have an opportunity of conferring with the Irish brigade, I resolved to continue my journey. And the next morning, as I passed the ferry at Conway, I perceived a person riding post towards us; who coming nearer, appeared to be one Col. Barrow, dispatched from the council of officers at London, with a message to me and the rest of the officers in Ireland, to give us an account of their proceedings, and what satisfaction they could concerning them. He delivered to me two letters; one from the council of officers directed to me, and to be communicated to the army in Ireland; the other from Lt-Gen. Fleetwood to myself. In that from the officers, they endeavoured to put the best gloss they could upon their late action, pleading the force of necessity in their excuse, and protesting to improve every opportunity to promote the public good; with this expression inserted, "That they had been necessitated to obstruct the sitting of the parliament for the present." That from Lt-Gen.

Gen. Fleetwood was much to the same purpose, desiring me to exercise my charity to them, and labouring to clear his own integrity in the late transaction. Col. Barrow also endeavoured to persuade me, that the parliament had on many occasions manifested such a spirit of imposition as was become intolerable; that they had designed to ruin their most ancient and best friends; and that the officers had taken the power into their own hands, only to employ it to the full satisfaction of all honest men. I told him, that tho' I should be extremely glad to see it so employed, yet, when I considered how grossly the nation had been formerly abused under the same pretences, I had not the least expectation of it; being well informed, that all their discontents had no other foundation than the experience they had, that the parliament would not permit the officers of the army to be their superiors, and the sword to tyrannize over the civil power. After I had spent about an hour with Col. Barrow in conversation touching this affair, I found no cause to alter my resolution concerning my journey; but was rather confirmed in my opinion, that my endeavours to adjust the differences between the parliament and army might prove successful: and therefore having perused the letter from the officers at London, which was to be communicated to those in Ireland, I delivered it again to Col. Barrow; with another letter for Col. Jones, wherein I desired him to take all possible care, that the common enemy might not be able to take advantage from this sad conjuncture to disturb the public peace. Then I proceeded in my journey towards Chester; and being arrived within three miles of that town, I found

found the officers of horse belonging to the Irish brigade, who gave themselves the trouble to wait my coming, and accompanied me to the city; where the foot were drawn up, and had lined the streets to the place where I was to lodge. The next day being Sunday, I staid there; and taking that occasion to speak with the officers of the said brigade, together with Col. Croxton Governor of Chester, I told them freely my thoughts concerning the late precipitate enterprize of the army; and, as I was able, endeavoured to convince them of the imprudence and injustice of it; delivering for my opinion, that the late address, contrived at Derby, had given birth to this unnatural attempt, as it was itself the offspring of pride and ambition: that it was apparent the army had not put this affront upon the parliament for having omitted the performance of their duty in relation to the public, but merely on account of themselves and their own private interest; having expressed their resentment in the most outrageous manner against the parliament, for not advancing some officers of the army to such powers and titles as had formerly proved fatal to the government; though they might have seen, by the late success of Col. Lambert, that victory is not entailed upon empty titles. During this conference, there was not one word said in excuse of the late horrid act committed by the Wallingford-house party, but only by one Capt. Winckworth, a creature of Col. Zanche; all the rest seeming to be convinced of the truth of what I had said, affirming that they had been surprised, and prevailed upon to sign it, without having sufficiently weighed the consequences it might produce.

In

In particular, Lt-Col. Walker, the chief officer then upon the place, assured me, that it being suddenly presented to him with a letter from Col. Zanche, he had too hastily signed it; but, after better consideration, he had resolved to stop the paper at the post-house; which he had done, if it had not been dispatched away sooner than he expected.

Whilst I was at Chester, there came a messenger from the officers of the army at London with letters for those in Ireland; which he presented to me, as they were directed. Upon the perusal of them, I found my former suspicions justified, and that the army would be contented with nothing less than to have the government established in a court-martial. To this end, they had agreed, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood should be Commander in chief of all the forces of the commonwealth, Col. Lambert Major-General of the army, Col. Desborough Lieutenant-General of the Horse, Col. Monk Major-General of the Foot; and that all officers of the army who should by their subscriptions testify their submission to this agreement, should be confirmed in their commands, from thence never to be discharged, unless by a court-martial: that all officers to be presented to any command that should be vacant by dismissal, death, or otherwise, should be nominated by Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Col. Desborough, Col. Berry, myself, or any three of us; and to receive their commissions from Lt-Gen. Fleetwood; who also was to grant new ones to those that were already possessed of any military command. We were informed also by this messenger, that the council of officers had agreed upon



upon one and twenty persons, with whom they pretended to intrust the administration of all civil affairs, under the title of *A committee of safety*; resolving to obey them so long as they would do what should be prescribed to them. This number, though filled up with men of almost all parties, yet was so craftily composed, that the balance was sufficiently secured to those of their own faction. The names of the committee were as followeth: Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Maj.-Gen. Lambert, Col. Desborough, Sir Henry Vane, Maj. Salloway, the Lord Wariston, Col. Titchburn, Commissioner Whitlock, Col. Berry, Mr. Walter Strickland, Col. Hewetson, Mr. Cornelius Holland, Sir James Harrington, Alderman Ireton, Col. Sydenham, Mr. Serjeant Steel, Mr. Henry Brandriff, Col. Monk, Sir Gilbert Pickering, one person more, and myself.

Notwithstanding all this bad news, I resolved to pursue my journey; and having viewed the castle of Chester, exhorted the officers of the Irish brigade to persist in their resolutions of fidelity to the parliament, and written to the officers in Ireland to the same purpose, I departed from thence on Monday about noon, the streets being lined with soldiers as at my arrival. The horse accompanied me about three miles on my way; and there I found another troop waiting to attend me to Whitchurch, where I lay that night. But the next morning, having permitted them to accompany me about a mile from the town, I dismissed them with thanks for their affection, and extremely pleased to be freed from such ceremonies; admiring how it should come to pass, that so many men delight in numerous and magnificent trains; which, be-

sides the trouble it puts others to, must necessarily render those for whose service they are designed, less useful and easy to themselves. At Coventry I found some of the forces that had been in the service of the King of France, and lately brought to England by order of the parliament, upon the insurrection of Sir George Booth's party. I discoursed with the officers concerning their duty in this conjuncture, and exhorted them to continue steadfast in their obedience to the parliament; which they promised to do. The next night I lay at Northampton, and was informed by some passengers who came from London, that Col. Monk had declared against the late proceedings of the army. Which news was so welcome, that I could not give entire credit to it, till it was confirmed to me the next night at Dunstable; and the day after by my wife, who came to meet me at St. Alban's. Being arrived at London, I went to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood; who endeavouring to persuade me to go into a council of officers that was then assembled at Wallingford-house, to consider of letters brought from Col. Monk, I desired to be excused from intermeddling in their consultations; being very ill satisfied with their proceedings, accounting them to be founded upon a selfish bottom, and therefore not likely to produce any good to the public. He requested me to put a charitable construction on their actions, making solemn protestations of his own integrity; and adding, that whatsoever opinion I might have conceived of them, I should certainly find that Monk's intentions were neither sincere nor honest. To which I replied, That though I knew not what designs he might have to carry on,

yet

yet it ought to be confessed that his public declaration had a better appearance than theirs, who demanded nothing less than a government by the sword. By him and others whom I conversed with, I was fully acquainted with the grounds and causes of this second violence offered to the parliament; which had been designed soon after their restitution, when the grandees of the army perceived they would not be governed by them; and had been more speedily put in execution, if the late tumults of the Cavaliers and Presbyterians had not caused it to be put off till they were suppressed. The parliament on their part being sensible of their danger, were not wholly negligent of the means to prevent it; though I cannot say they gave no advantages to the faction of the army, by disgustung the Sectarian party, and falling in with the corrupt interests of the lawyers and clergy, wherein the army did not fail to outbid them when they saw their time. But Sir Arthur Haslerig supposing that a conjunction with these men would contribute much to deter the officers from any attempt against the parliament, closed with them, and thereby dissatisfied many of the commonwealth-party. Neither did it a little contribute to this disorder, that Sir Arthur, who took upon him to be the principal manager of affairs in parliament, was a man of a disobliging carriage, sour and morose of temper, liable to be transported with passion, and to whom liberality seemed to be a vice. Yet, to do him justice, I must acknowledge, that I am under no manner of doubt concerning the rectitude and sincerity of his intentions. For he made it his business to prevent arbitrary power where-

X 2

soever

soever he knew it to be affected, and to keep the sword subservient to the civil magistrate. To this end, he had procured many officers to be chosen into the army, with whom he hoped to balance that faction that appeared every day more and more amongst them. He had recommended Col. Fitz to the parliament for Lieutenant of the Tower; and took care on all occasions to oblige Col. Monk, who commanded the forces in Scotland. He presumed upon the fidelity of the fleet, and forces in Ireland, on account of the past services of those that commanded them, and their former opposition to the usurpation of Cromwel. He had procured a guard of chosen horse, commanded by Major Evelyn, to attend the parliament; and was assured of Col. Morley's regiment, with those of Col. Hacker, Col. Okey, and some others that lay in or near the town. In the mean time the officers at Wallingford-house had not been idle; and accounting it lawful for them to do whatsoever they had power to do, they agreed on that petition which I mentioned before to have been sent from Derby, and privately sent it down thither to be signed and dispersed, and then to be returned to London, as if it had been drawn at Derby, and by no means to be presented to the parliament, unless it were first approved by Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, and signed at his recommendation by the officers about London. The Lieutenant-General having received this pernicious paper, being one morning at a committee in the Speaker's chamber before the house was sat, shewed it to Sir Arthur Haslerig; acquainting him how it came to his hands, pretending his dislike of it, and a resolution to put

a stop to it. Sir Arthur said not much to him concerning it; either suspecting him to be in the plot, or thinking that if speedy care were not taken, it would be past all remedy; and therefore procured the Speaker immediately to take the chair, and to send for the members from the committee into the house. Which being done, he obtained an order for shutting the door, and bringing the keys to the table, alledging that the business which he had to impart to the parliament required that care. Then he communicated to them the petition itself: which being read, he aggravated the heinousness of the attempt; and moved, that Col. Lambert, who commanded that part of the army amongst whom it was said to have had its beginning, might be accused of high treason, and committed to the Tower; and that one Major Creed, and Col. Zanche, might also be taken into custody. The major part of the house finding their very being struck at by this combination, seemed very ready to agree with those who were the most zealous for the suppression of it. But the Lieutenant-General affirming, that, according to the best of his information, the petition had been begun and carried on by the inferior officers of the brigade, without the knowledge or consent of Col. Lambert; that it was not to have been presented to the parliament without the approbation of himself, and the rest of the officers about London; and that he had taken a resolution to suppress it; the house inclined to more gentle methods, and contented themselves with passing a vote, to express their dislike of the said petition; requiring those of the army to forbear any farther prosecution of it, and com-

manding Lt-Gen. Fleetwood to issue out his letters to that effect to the several quarters of the army; which he did accordingly. But for all this a council of officers was summoned to meet at Wallingford-house: and though it was pretended to be only in order to declare their acquiescence in the resolution of the parliament; yet the officers fell into debates of the utmost rage and madness; Col. Lambert, who was present, sitting still as a person altogether unconcerned, and not reproving them in the least for their excesses. The result of all was, that a committee of the council of officers was directed to prepare an address to the parliament; wherein, after the specious promises of obedience, they desired, That those who should hereafter misinform the house, as had been done in their case, might undergo the censure of the parliament; that a Commander in chief might be constituted without limitation of time; that no officer might be displaced unless by a court-martial; that the act of indemnity might be enlarged; that the revenue of Mr. Richard Cromwel might be augmented, and that his debts might be paid; with other particulars, most of which were as absurd for the army to ask, as for the parliament to grant. However, the parliament being willing to leave no means unattempted that might give satisfaction to the army, taking hold of that clause in the address wherein they had promised obedience, gave them thanks for their affection expressed therein; and promised to take the particulars of the petition into their speedy and serious consideration, to do therein according to justice, and as far as they could to their satisfaction. In pursuance of this promise, the  
parliament

parliament proceeded to the consideration of the several parts of the address; and had made a good progress in it, when Col. Okey communicated to them a letter subscribed by Col. Lambert, Col. Desborough, Col. Berry, Col. Clarke, and Col. Barrow, who were of a committee nominated by the council of officers, which had been sent to him to encourage subscriptions to the petition lately read in the house. By which proceeding it was manifest, that they intended the petition to be the ground on which they designed to unite the army against the civil authority. The parliament finding that the ways of compliance which they had been taking served only to encourage the army to mutiny and rebellion, resolved upon sharper counsels. And to that end, having caused the door of the house to be locked, and fully informed themselves of the matter of fact, they voted the commissions of those who had subscribed the said letter to be void. They voted the commission of Lt-Gen. Fleetwood to be void also, and placed by an act the power of Commander in chief of all the forces in England and Scotland in the seven following persons, *viz.* Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Col. Monk, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Col. Walton, Col. Morley, Col. Overton, and me. Then they caused the Speaker to demand of Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, who was present in the house, if he would submit to this resolution of the parliament. To which he answered, That he would. They also declared, that no tax should be laid or levied upon the people, unless by act of parliament; under the penalty due to those that are guilty of high treason. This business, though carried with as much privacy as it could

could be, yet came to the notice of the officers without doors; who being surprised at the resolution of the parliament, and convinced that the least delay might prove dangerous, used all possible diligence in drawing together their party, and preparing themselves for their designed work.

In the mean time, the parliament ordered the regiments of Col. Morley and Col. Mofs to march forthwith to Westminster for their security, and sent for the rest of the troops that were about the town to draw down to them also with all convenient speed. In pursuance of which order, Col. Okey endeavoured to bring down his regiment of horse; but the greatest part of them deserted him. For most of the old officers whom Cromwel had, by his example, corrupted with the horrid vices of ambition and treachery, found it easy to delude the inferior officers and private soldiers, who had either utterly forgot their trades, or were unwilling to return to an industrious life, into a compliance with any design, in order to get a living. Col. Lambert was the person that made the first attempt against the parliament's guard; endeavouring, at the head of a party of horse, to break in upon that part where Col. Morley was posted with his regiment. But the Colonel advancing, and assuring him, that if he persisted, he would fire upon him; Lambert answered, "I will then go the other way;" which he did, after he had given order to block up the avenues by the mill-bank with carts and other impediments, to prevent the guards of the parliament from sallying out upon them by that way. The army had also placed a party of theirs in King-street, and in the church-yard near the abbey, some of  
Col.



Col. Morley's regiment having already possessed themselves of the old Palace-yard. In this posture they continued all night. The next morning that guard of the army which lay in the church-yard advanced, with one Maj. Grimes at the head of them, towards those of Col. Morley's regiment who were in the Palace-yard: of which motion the Colonel being informed, drew out those that he had with him, and hastened to their relief. Both parties being come within pistol-shot, and each of them ready to fire, those of the army began to invite Col. Morley's men to go over to them; desiring them to remember, that they had hitherto fought together, and that it was unreasonable now to become enemies. In like manner, Col. Morley's party endeavoured to persuade those of the army to join with them in the defence of the parliament, who they said had been always successful in the administration of public affairs, and to whom the officers of the army had so lately promised obedience when they received their last commissions; who had always taken effectual care for their constant pay, and who were the only authority that could do so for the future. The chief officers at length interposing, it was agreed, that both parties should for the present retire to their former stations. On the other side, Col. Lambert, being advanced near that party which was commanded by Col. Moss, demanded of them, If they would suffer nine of their old officers, who had so often spent their blood for them and with them, to be disgraced and ruined with their families? The Colonel answered, That though that should be the case, yet it were much better that nine families should be

be destroyed, than the civil authority of the nation trampled under foot ; who designed not the ruin of any, but only to remove from their commands nine officers, who, by their seditious carriage, had rendered themselves unworthy of that trust. But Col. Lambert's oratory was more prevalent with the person that commanded the parliament's guard of horse ; who perceiving that divers of his men had left him, and revolted by the treacherous persuasions of one Cathness his Lieutenant, dismounted in the head of his troop at the command of Lambert. Some of Col. Moss's regiment went off also, each party using their rhetoric to bring over as many as they could. On the other part, some came over to the parliament's party, and particularly three entire companies of Col. Sydenham's regiment. But at last the army gained their point, and placed guards both by land and water, to hinder the members of parliament from approaching the house ; though Sir Peter Wentworth, being rowed by a crew of able watermen, broke through their guard on the river, and got into the house. In the mean time, the Speaker, endeavouring to pass in his coach through the guards of the army, was stopped near the gate of the Palace-yard, by Lt-Col. Duckenfield ; and being demanded whither he was going ? the Speaker answered, To perform his duty at the house. Then turning himself to the soldiers, he told them, that he was their General, and expected their obedience. But these men having resolved to destroy the civil authority, and to set up the sword in the room of it, forced his coachman to drive back ; and as he passed by Wallingford-house, would have compelled

pressed him to drive in at the gate; telling the Speaker, that he must go to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood. But the Speaker commanded the coachman to drive home: and having told the officers, that if Lt-Gen. Fleetwood had any business with him, he might come to his house, they desisted from giving him any farther trouble at that time.

During those disorders, the council of state still assembled at the usual place; and at one of their meetings, Col. Sydenham, who was one of them, made a speech, wherein he endeavoured to justify these proceedings of the army; undertaking to prove, that they were necessitated to make use of this last remedy, by a particular call of the divine providence. But the Lord President Bradshaw, who was then present, though by long sickness very weak and much extenuated, yet animated by his ardent zeal and constant affection to the common cause, upon hearing those words, stood up, and interrupted him, declaring his abhorrence of that detestable action; and telling the council, that, being now going to his God, he had not patience to sit there to hear his great name so openly blasphemed: and thereupon departed to his lodgings, and withdrew himself from public employment. The army, having resolved to finish the work, appointed a select number of persons, consisting for the most part of themselves and their creatures, to have the administration of civil affairs, calling them, as I said before, *A committee of safety*. And knowing that it was of great importance to secure the forces in Ireland and Scotland to their interest, they dispatched Col. Barrow, formerly mentioned, to Ireland, and Col. Cobbet to Scotland, on that design.

The

The news of this great change being brought to Ireland, was at first received with great sadness and discontent; but after three or four days, when Col. Barrow had given assurances of favour and advancement to divers officers, he easily persuaded many of them, that the army would make use of their power to good ends. Yet so much dissatisfaction remained in the major part of them, that the Colonel could not obtain any public approbation from them of the proceedings of the army in England: only they sent a letter inclosed in one to me, and directed to the council of officers at London, advising them to be very circumspect in their actions, lest they should happen to split as formerly upon the rocks of pride and ambition. At the same time, I received letters from Sir Hardress Waller, Col. Cooper, and other officers, to inform me, that those who had the management of affairs in Ireland, endeavoured on all occasions to impose upon them; and therefore earnestly desired my presence there. Col. Cobbet had not so good success in Scotland: for Col. Monk, who had another part to play, having secured to himself the fidelity of most of his officers who had been with him for many years, and, by the particular favour of Sir Arthur Haslerig, had not been altered by the committee of nominations, seized Col. Cobbet, with some officers that he suspected might oppose his designs, and sent them prisoners into one of the islands. After that he declared for the parliament; and writ three letters, whereof the first was directed to the Speaker, the second to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, and the third to Col. Lambert. In that to the Speaker, he assured him, that he would expose himself

himself and the forces with him to all hazards for the restitution of the parliament to the exercise of their authority, in obedience to the commission he had received from them. In his letters to the Lieutenant-General and Col. Lambert, he endeavoured to persuade them to use their interest and power to restore the parliament, declaring his own resolution in that matter. I also received a letter from him, wherein he acquainted me with his intentions touching the parliament, and desired my assistance therein.

In this confusion of things, it was brought about, chiefly by the interest of Sir Henry Vane with Col. Lambert, that the said Sir Henry Vane, Maj. Salloway, and myself, should meet and confer with Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Col. Lambert, Col. Sydenham, and Col. Desborough, concerning the present condition of affairs. Accordingly we met in one of the council-chambers at Whitehall; where Col. Lambert in the first place demanded of me, If I could give him my hand? I answered, That though, according to my information, his part in the late action appeared to me very unwarrantable; yet, if it might make me more capable of serving the public, and recommend my endeavours for the peace of the nation, and the reconciliation of the differences amongst us, I could not only give him my hand, but my heart also. Then he laboured to justify his late proceedings; protesting, that he had no intention to interrupt the parliament till the time that he did it, and that he was necessitated to that extremity for his own preservation; saying, that Sir Arthur Haslerig was so enraged against him, that he would be satisfied with nothing but his blood. I endeavoured

voured to take him off from that opinion, by telling him, that being assured of Sir Arthur's sincere affection to the commonwealth, I could not think that he would do any thing to the prejudice of those that were friends to it. I told him also, that, according to my notion of things, the aim and design of Sir Arthur Haslerig was good, even in that matter which had been the first occasion of difference between them concerning new titles and powers, which had proved so fatal to the parliament in former time, and which he thought very unsafe under an equal and moderate government. I assured him, that Sir Arthur had a personal respect for him, which he had manifested on several occasions; particularly I desired him to remember, that he had prevailed with the parliament to grant him the command of two regiments, and sided with those members who were for the greatest sum to be given him in acknowledgment of his service in Cheshire. In conclusion, I told him, that Sir Arthur was well known not to be of an obliging carriage; and therefore, if ever he had been used too roughly by him, it would become him to pardon it, and to charge it upon his temper; especially since he had not spared the best of his friends, of which I gave him divers instances, some of which related to myself. After this discourse, the officers declared to us their resolution to do great things for the public good, and pressed us earnestly to come amongst them to their committee of safety. But we desired to be excused, till such time as the common cause might be secured to the satisfaction of good men; and therefore agreed upon another meeting, wherein this affair might be fully debated.

In

In the mean time I endeavoured to moderate the warmth of some of the parliament-party, and to bring them to desire a reconciliation with the army, that by that means the public might be preserved from ruin. And to this end a meeting was appointed between Mr. Scot, Col. Morley, Mr. Say, myself, and one person more, whose name I have forgot; where, after much debate on that subject, I shewed them the address which I had brought from all the officers in Ireland, as well general as inferior, to whom it had been tendered; and informed them, that the Irish brigade had assured me at Chester, that they would continue faithful to the parliament, and had acknowledged their error in signing the petition from Derby. Hereupon they desired me to publish the address from Ireland, together with what had passed between the Irish brigade and me, supposing it might be of great service in that conjuncture. I told them I would consider of it, and that for the present I had nothing to object against the publication of those papers, except my fear, that by so doing I might so far exasperate the army, as to render all my offices to reconcile them to the parliament utterly ineffectual. When the company was separated, and Mr. Scot and I going away together, he earnestly pressed me to improve the opportunity which he said I had in my hands, to be highly serviceable to the public; which if I neglected, I should repent it as long as I had an hour to live. I told him, that I thought he laid too much weight on my interest; but yet desired him to inform me what he thought it my duty to do. He said, that I ought by all means to declare against the proceedings of the army, and to join with Monk in

opposition to them. I replied, that though I knew not what the design of Monk might be, yet I had entertained a charitable opinion of him, by reason of his declaration for the parliament; but that it was my judgment, that if either the parliament or the army should entirely prevail one against the other in this juncture, it would hazard the ruin of both; and therefore I thought myself obliged in duty to use the utmost of my endeavours to bring them to a reconciliation, before I should think of declaring myself. For as there was no appearance that the army could long subsist without a due provision for their payment, which the parliament only could make to the content of the people, especially since the passing of the vote against levying money unless by their authority; so also it was necessary for the parliament to have the assistance of the army in the great work they had before them, to establish a just and equal government in the nation.

After this I waited on Mr. Lenthal the Speaker of the parliament, and gave him also an account of the state of affairs in Ireland, and that I had many things to offer to the parliament from that nation, which I hoped speedily to do, when he should return to the chair of the house; to which end I assured him I would employ all my interest, being fully convinced of the injustice of the army in the late violence, and that no authority but that of the parliament can render any form of government agreeable to the people. I acquainted him also with the sentiments of the Irish brigade; with all which he declared himself much satisfied; and having given me a relation of his own gallantry towards those



those of the army that had mutinied against him, as before mentioned, I took my leave for that time. Some of the council of state writ letters to Col. Monk to encourage him in his resolutions for the parliament; and Lt-Gen. Fleetwood sent one Capt. Lloyd with an answer to that which he had received from the Colonel, and to promise on his part all the advantages that he could desire. Col. Jones, Sir Hardress Waller, and about six or seven officers more, drew up an answer to Monk's letter directed to me in Ireland, and sent it to me at London for my approbation, together with the letter itself. Having perused both, I perceived a great alteration in many of the officers of Ireland, and a great defection from their duty. For in their answer they manifestly took part with the army, and required Monk to desist from his undertaking, charging the blood that might be shed in this quarrel on his head; with much more to the same effect. With these letters I received others from Col. Cooper and Maj. Warren, complaining of the said breach, and of the hardships which they said were put upon them by those whom I had intrusted with the command of the forces, and earnestly pressing me to return to them. I thought myself obliged to answer these letters. And in that to Col. Jones I expressed my dissatisfaction with what he and some others had written to Col. Monk, wherein they had espoused the interests of the army; contrary to the trust they had received from the parliament and me; which thing deserved the more blame, because the army had as yet declared for no other government than that of a court-martial; whereas Col. Monk, whatever his designs might be, had hitherto as-

serted the authority of the parliament. To the same purpose I writ to Col. Cooper and Maj. Warren, advising them to be careful not to join themselves to a faction in opposition to the civil authority of the nation; and sent orders to Col. Cooper, who was a good officer, and very acceptable to the best sort of people in the northern parts, to command the forces there, and to be vigilant on all occasions to promote the public service. And though the letters which had been sent to Ireland by the council of officers at Wallingford-house, were for the present laid aside; yet, being informed that endeavours were used privately to make them take effect, and to engage those forces to the faction of the army, I went to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood; and desired him, that to prevent setting the army in Ireland together by the ears, the proceedings in that matter might be let fall; telling him, that if they absolutely required the officers there to subscribe their confederacy, it would come to pass that many of them would lay down their commissions; and thereby a way would be open to fill their places with corrupt and scandalous persons, who might not only prove the causes of great disorders in that country, but also would be so fixed in their stations, as not easily to be removed again; it being one of the articles of their papers, That no officer should be displaced but by a court-martial. The Lieutenant-General avowing that he had not foreseen either of those inconveniencies, promised to desist from any farther prosecution of that matter.

In the mean time the officers at Wallingford-house were not negligent; and having drawn up an engagement, as I said before, they required

quired those of the army who desired to continue in their employments, to subscribe it. By this means Col. Okey, Col. Morley, Col. Alured, Lt-Col. Farley, and divers others who were not of their faction, were removed from their commands ; though Col. Moss and Col. Rich were permitted to continue in their charges without subscribing. Col. Rich was the more willing to retain his regiment, that he might be the better acquainted with the designs of the army, and have more opportunities of rectifying the mistakes of such officers, who though honest and well-meaning men, yet might happen to be deluded by the plausible pretences of their superiors. But that which principally persuaded him to continue amongst them, was the interest and friendship which he had with Vice-Adm. Lawson, who commanded the fleet at that time, and who very much depended upon the advice of the Colonel for the measures he should take to serve the public. Their committee of safety also nominated Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Commissioner Whitlock, Sir Henry Vane, Maj. Salloway, Col. Titchburn, and me, to consider of a form of government for the three nations, and to report our opinions to them. And though some of us were very unwilling to have any part in an affair of this nature ; yet, seeing we were now under the power and government of the sword, we resolved to procure the best settlement we could get, if we could not obtain such a one as we desired, hoping at least to procure the regulation of what was most amiss. And therefore we had several meetings on this subject ; wherein we agreed upon the principal points in dispute. But the greatest difficulty was, in what manner the result  
of

of our debates should receive a sanction. The army-party desired, that the forces on foot in the three nations should be drawn together ; and that they, with such of the people who would join with them, should give their consent to the form agreed on in a public assembly. This I could not approve ; but resolved, if we could come to any agreement, to procure it to be laid before the parliament for their approbation, or never to assent to it.

During these transactions, Col. Monk having received the answer of Col. Jones, and other officers in Ireland, to the letter he had written to them ; and not liking the contents of it, seized Maj. Barret, by whom it was sent : and, resolving to march for London with all possible expedition, he fell upon new-modelling his men ; wherein he had two notable advantages ; the one from divers of his officers, who being of the Wallingford-house party, voluntarily surrendered their commissions to him, whose places he immediately filled with his own creatures ; the other from the late act of parliament, whereby he was constituted one of the seven Generals appointed to command the army ; by virtue of which authority he undertook so to regulate his forces, as might be most for his purpose. Before his departure from Scotland, he procured a sum of money from the Scots ; with which he paid his soldiers, and thereby obliged them the more to his service ; especially at this time, when they knew the army in England were in want of it, and knew not well how to raise any, having interrupted the civil authority, by whom alone money may rightfully be raised. The army-party being informed of his design, resolved  
to

to draw a body of their troops together to be sent against him; with orders, if possible, to possess themselves of Newcastle, a place of great importance to the city of London, and to fight him, if an opportunity should be offered. Four thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, were appointed for this service, together with the Irish brigade, commanded by Col. Zanche; who, notwithstanding his late carriage, came with great confidence to me, to receive my orders. But I was very reserved to him in that particular, knowing how instrumental he had been in promoting the present disorders. The committee of the army intrusted Col. Lambert with the command of these forces; who having dispatched his orders to the soldiery that were quartered in the north to draw together, and to seize on the town of Newcastle, went himself by post for that place. Before his departure, he desired those who had been appointed to consider of a form of government, to proceed in their consultations, and to send the result of them to him; promising to give his assent and approbation to it. But some of us earnestly pressed, that we might come to an agreement before he began his journey; assuring him, that it would very much tend to facilitate his present undertaking, especially if the establishment designed might be so just and equal, that a good man might reasonably adventure his life in the defence of it: whereas, on the contrary, if things were left uncertain, and no form of government agreed upon, men would not easily be persuaded to engage for a party, against those who at least pretended to act for the civil authority. He acknowledged the force of these reasons;

sons; but could not be prevailed upon to stay till it should be perfected, though he desired it might be sent after him with all possible expedition.

In the mean time Col. Jones, and those officers who were in and about Dublin, sent Lt-Col. Dobson to be their agent in England, and to inform them of public affairs. He had been used ill by Oliver, and unjustly removed from his command; which being represented to me when I was there, I advanced him to be a field-officer. But being a man of slender ability, and little acquainted with public affairs, he was easily deluded by the fair pretences of the Wallingford-house party, and became their creature, rather than the agent of those that sent him. And now Col. Jones despairing to prevail upon the council of officers, whilst together, to subscribe the design of governing the three nations by a council of war, dispersed them to their respective quarters; and sent the Wallingford-house paper to be subscribed by them, when they could not have an opportunity of consulting together, accompanied with letters from himself to press them to it. And having declared openly, that, if they refused to subscribe, the army in England would find a way to detain the pay that had been assigned to them by the parliament; many of those who had signed an engagement to the parliament, which I had carried over to England, and therein expressed their sorrow for the interruption of the civil authority, together with their firm resolution to adhere constantly to them for the future, were now brought in to sign an engagement directly contrary to the former. Of which being informed, I thought myself obliged to

to write to Col. Jones, and other officers of the army, and to expostulate with them concerning the foulness of these practices, that were not only contrary to their late solemn promises, and pretended sorrow for their former evil compliances, but also tending, in a high degree, to set up the power of the sword upon the ruins of the civil authority. Col. Jones, in his answer, excused himself, as not having foreseen the inconveniencies of the foresaid paper; affirming, that he had only permitted it to be promoted at the incessant importunities of others: but yet he expressed some discontent, that I should lay so heavy a charge upon him, who had undertaken his employment at my desire, and had managed it according to the best of his understanding. He concluded, that he earnestly desired I would return to my command, and ease him of the burden that was upon him. About the same time Serjeant Steel, one of the commissioners in Ireland, being nominated of the committee of safety, took that opportunity to go into England, as he had long desired to do; by whose departure the affairs of Ireland suffered much, he being generally esteemed to be a man of great prudence and uncorrupted integrity. At London he refused to act in the committee of safety. And though he sometimes went to Watlingford-house, and discoursed with Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, and some others, about things relating to a future establishment; yet he always declared his opinion to be, that the parliament were the only proper judges of that matter, and used the best of his endeavours that they might be restored to their authority. After his departure, the commissioners of the parliament in Ireland  
fell

fell in with the party of the army, and altered their title in the orders and commissions signed by them, from that of commissioners of the parliament, to that of commissioners of the commonwealth. And being informed, that the garrison of Air in Scotland had discharged their Governor, and declared for Monk, they ordered a ship of war to cruise on that coast, to prevent their correspondence with the northern parts of Ireland. Col. Lambert being now in the north of England, and his forces in possession of Newcastle, divers messages passed between him and Col. Monk; the latter always declaring his resolution, as he had done before to the Generals commissioned by the parliament, to be assisting to them in settling the government on the foot of a commonwealth, without a King, single person, or house of Lords. And seeing that the army had begun to treat with him, he nominated Col. Wilkes, Col. Knight, and Lt-Col. Clobery, to be commissioners to adjust the present differences with those of the Wallingford-house party.

The Irish brigade, though Col. Zanche and others endeavoured to persuade them to join heartily with those of the army, had not quite forgot our discourse at Chester; and therefore they resolved not to engage against Monk, till they might see that what they were about to fight for, was worth the hazard they were to run. To this end, they signed a paper in the nature of an association, whereby they obliged themselves to live and die together; one of the principal officers informing me by a letter, that if Col. Lambert designed to advance himself, he must chuse another pole to climb by than the Irish brigade, who



who were fully resolved not to assist him in such an attempt. Lambert being made acquainted with the foresaid paper, concluded that the jealousy they had of him arose from the influence I had upon that brigade; and thereupon wrote to Sir Henry Vane, desiring him to procure a letter from me to them, to remove that prejudice which they had entertained against him. Accordingly Sir Henry Vane came to me; and having assured me, that Col. Lambert had rather been made use of by the Wallingford-house party, than that he had been in any manner the principal contriver of the late disorders, and that he would be an impediment to them in their design of advancing a single person; I consented to desire our brigade, that they would be careful to inform themselves well before they should determine what course to take, that they might not, out of a jealousy of one person, contribute to the advancement of others, who might possibly prove to be worse. Upon the receipt of my letter, which I sent to one of the principal officers amongst them, to be communicated to the rest, they marched nearer to the forces of Col. Lambert; who thereupon sent me a letter of thanks, acknowledging that I had exercised my charity to him in an extraordinary manner, considering the late transactions; protesting, that he designed not the violence that was offered to the parliament, and was wholly innocent from promoting that petition which had a tendency to it; that he knew not of any interruption to be given to the house, till the day it was put in execution; and that he had no further design therein, than to preserve himself from destruction, which he conceived was intended against him.

him. He concluded with assurances, that he would take all opportunities to advance the good of the commonwealth, and desired my friendship no farther than he should act in order to that end.

About this time I went to Sir Arthur Hasle-  
rig, whom I knew to be of a most rigid and  
inflexible spirit; and endeavoured as well as I  
could, to persuade him of the necessity incum-  
bent on us all to lay aside our private animosi-  
ties, and to unite our whole strength to preserve  
the vessel of the commonwealth from sinking.  
I desired him to entertain a better opinion of Sir  
Henry Vane, and some other persons, than he  
seemed to have; assuring him, that it was im-  
possible to prevent that ruin which threatened  
us, but by a hearty reconciliation, and a solid  
union amongst ourselves. I acknowledged his  
care of the public in the endeavours he had used  
to hinder the accumulation of extraordinary  
powers and titles upon any person, and to ren-  
der the sword subservient to the civil magistrate.  
But I could not forbear to acquaint him, that, in  
my poor opinion, he had not taken the right  
way to that great end, having lately estranged  
himself from his ancient friends, and fallen in  
with the lawyers and clergy; putting those who  
would have been his principal strength in times  
of necessity into despair of receiving any good  
from him, and relying upon men whose princi-  
ples and practices are inconsistent with a just and  
equal government. I agreed with him, that no-  
thing could recover us from the present confu-  
sions, but the restitution of the parliament to  
their authority; though I thought myself obli-  
ged to add, that if he and others should return to  
the

the exercise of their power with a spirit of revenge against those that had wronged them and the public, and not rather contribute their utmost to reconcile all those whose interests were involved in that of the commonwealth, they would certainly ruin themselves, and every one that wished well to the parliament and the common cause. Sir Arthur seemed so sensible of the truth of what I had said, that he assured me, if ever he returned to sit in parliament, and thereupon shewed himself revengeful to any man, he would permit me to spit in his face. In the mean time many members of the parliament had frequent meetings with their friends to consult about the most proper means to be used for their restitution; to which I was never called, they having conceived a suspicion that I had too much sided with the army. And, on the other side, those of the army were jealous of me, as indeed they had more cause, for my adherence to the parliament. For I had openly declared my dissatisfaction with their late proceedings, and my doubts of the sincerity of their protestations to improve their power to the public advantage. I had refused to be present at their committee of safety, or in that of nominations, though consisting of the same persons the parliament had formerly appointed, excepting only Sir Arthur Haslerig. And being one day in the next room to that where they used to sit, and Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, with others, pressing me to go in, telling me, that they wanted one to make a quorum, and that the officers to be approved were honest men, and such as I esteemed; yet I utterly refused to have any thing to do with them. But Sir Henry Vane and Maj.

Salloway did prevail with themselves to act with them in their committees, and to discharge the office of commissioners of the navy, to which they had been nominated by the parliament, and continued by the officers of the army.

It being resolved by the members of parliament, to open a way, if possible, for their return to the house, they prevailed with Col. Whetham, then Governor of Portsmouth, to admit Sir Arthur Haslerig, Col. Walton, and Col. Morley, with some forces into that important place: who thereupon immediately declared for the parliament, and issued out orders for more forces to come to their assistance. They also dispatched letters to Monk to warrant his undertaking, and invited the fleet to join with them. The commissioners that had been appointed by Col. Monk to treat with those of the army, had no small part in promoting this diversion of the forces of the army; yet to colour their designs, they endeavoured at the same time to lay asleep the Wallingford-house party, and to make them believe that they designed nothing more than a good understanding with them. By which artifice they caused them to neglect those means which they had in their hands to reduce Monk and his party, who were not to be compared with the forces of the army, either for number, experience, or unanimity. For though, by his solemn protestations, and public declaration of his firm resolution to adhere to the parliament and their cause, against a King, single person, or house of Peers, he had deluded divers of those who were at a distance from him, and who, from their enmity to the faction of the army, were ready to trust any that might  
probably

probably rescue them from that servitude; yet those who approached him nearer, and understood him better, finding him on all occasions to encourage the most vitious, and to prefer men of monarchical principles, though of the most scandalous lives, to all the offices that became vacant, saw so clearly into the drift of his design, that most of the officers who had any sense of religion, or common honesty, abandoned him, and joined themselves to Col. Lambert; and after them, about 300 horsemen, leaving their horses and equipage behind them, did the same. But this proved very prejudicial in the consequence to the public service: for those officers that deserted Monk, gave him an opportunity of filling their commands with his own creatures; whereas, if they had continued with him, they might have had a considerable influence upon the whole party, to make use of as opportunities had offered. The horse likewise that abandoned him, made room for others, who were mounted and equipped without expence, and composed of such as were fit for his purpose. Yet for all this the treaty went on between him and the army, and seemed to draw near to a conclusion; it being agreed, that he should have one part of a sum of money that had been appointed to pay his forces; that he should be one of their committee for the nomination of officers to such places as should be vacant in the army; that a representative of the people should be called with all convenient speed; and to that end commissioners should be appointed by the military power of the three nations, to consider and agree upon the qualifications of such as might be elected

and sit as members. Accordingly those intrusted by Monk, nominated Mr. Scot, Sir James Harrington, and Col. Thomson, on their part; Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, and Maj. Salloway, were appointed for the army, or Wallingford-house party; and on the part of the forces in Ireland, Col. Barrow and Lt-Col. Dobson were joined with me, to be commissioners to consider of the qualifications of the persons to be elected as aforesaid. A general council of officers was also appointed to meet at Whitehall, on a certain day, and to consist of two persons of each regiment in the three nations, to be chosen by the officers of the several regiments. It was desired also, that the fleet would send their deputies to this assembly, who were to prepare matters for the consideration of the representative that they pretended to call. I was altogether a stranger to these counsels, the articles having been drawn up by a private junto: yet I know not how I was persuaded to be present when they were read to the council of officers for their approbation; where I absolutely refused to consent to any part of it, except that whereby two of each regiment in the three nations were proposed to meet in a general council: which I accounted to be the most probable way of finding out the true sense of the army, into whose hands the power was most unhappily fallen; and much less dishonourable, if not more safe, than to continue longer under the servitude of the faction at Wallingford-house, who had presumed to give law both to the parliament and the army. I cannot omit, that at this meeting some persons having moved, that the commissioners from Monk

might

might be required to produce their powers, that it might appear whether he would stand obliged to what should be agreed, they could not be persuaded to shew any orders from him to that purpose; and yet Lt-Gen. Fleetwood and his cabinet-council were contented to treat with them, though they had never seen any commission that they had. And now it began to be suspected, that the design of Clobery, and the rest of the commissioners, was only to prolong the treaty in which they were engaged; that the forces of the army might be kept from attacking Monk; which he was afraid of, having found his own party wavering and doubtful. They well knew, that if they could spin out the time in treaty, till the expiration of the taxes that had been laid by the parliament, which would happen in the month of January next ensuing, the army would then be driven to great straits for want of money, wherewith Monk's forces had been supplied by the Scots. Of this Sir Henry Vane was very sensible, and gave both army and parliament for lost when they began to treat. But the chief officers of the army having already parted with their honesty, by driving on their own private interest, were now resolved to shake hands with their reason also, and sent down to Scotland one Dr Clarges, brother to Monk's wife, and a known royalist, with a commission to persuade him to an accommodation with them. They dispatched also some forces for the reduction of Portsmouth; but gave the command of them to such as were either little acquainted with their soldiers, or inclining in their affections to the parliament. And though they knew not how to procure money for

for the payment of their standing army, they raised the militia in divers parts, and gave out commissions for horse and foot to be levied, promising to pay all. Some of them earnestly solicited me to raise two regiments, one of horse, and another of foot; but I told them, they had already as many as they could pay, and I feared more than would be well employed. They endeavoured all this while to keep fair with Sir Henry Vane, Maj. Salloway, and me; making large protestations of the sincerity of their intentions, and the great designs they had to promote the service of the public; hoping, that, by our continuing to come amongst them, it would come to pass, that those who had a good opinion of us, would extend it also to them and their actions. But they were obliged to discover themselves more openly on the following occasion. The parliament had manifested, before the last interruption, an inclination to ease the people of the payment of tithes; and, in lieu of them, to appropriate a certain sum of money for the maintenance and encouragement of the ministry, to be distributed in a more equal manner than had been formerly practised; hoping, if this could be effected, that the clergy would no longer have any other interest to promote than that of the whole commonwealth, nor be a distinct party from the people. It was well known also to the lawyers, that they still retained the design of regulating the practice of the law, and relieving the people in that particular. These two parties therefore being equally concerned to perpetuate the abuses practised amongst them, became equally sensible of the common dangers: and in order to prevent it,

Whitlock



Whitlock and St. John's for the lawyers, with Dr Owen and Mr. Nye for the clergy, who at this time had frequent meetings in the Savoy, entered into a private treaty with the principal persons of the Wallingford-house party, and offered to raise 100,000 l. for the use of the army, upon assurance of being protected by them in the full enjoyment of their respective advantages and profits; with this farther condition, that they should oblige themselves not to hearken any longer to the advice of Sir Henry Vane. Whereby we were left destitute of hope, to see any other reformation of the clergy, than what they themselves would consent to; any other regulation of the law, than the Chief Justice, and the Commissioner of the seal, would permit; or any more liberty for tender consciences, than the Lord Wariston would be pleased to grant, who representing the Scots interest, made up the third estate of our reformation.

I began now to think all my time lost that I had spent in endeavouring to reconcile our broken and divided counsels; and had no hopes left, but from the general council of officers, which was to consist of two persons to be nominated by each regiment in the three nations, as I said before. In order to this meeting, warrants were signed, and issued out for their election, to the armies in England and Ireland; and Monk's commissioners departed for Scotland, to procure, as they said, all things to be done there, according to their agreement. But Monk kept himself upon the reserve; and instead of making good what his commissioners had promised, he desired time to consider of the articles of the treaty, and required an explanation of several particulars.

particulars therein contained. So that much time was spent in messages between him and Lambert. Amongst others, Col. Zanche was sent to tempt him with promises and offers of advantage; but he having struck a bargain in another place, made use of Zanche's presence only to keep the army-party in expectation of his compliance, thereby gaining time; which he knew would shortly bring the affairs of the army to the last extremities. He gave out no orders to the regiments that were with him to select members for the general council of officers as had been agreed by his commissioners; but formed new difficulties every day to avoid confirming the treaty; and under pretence that Col. Wilkes, one of his commissioners, had been much inclined to the interest of the army, he dismissed him from his command. Notwithstanding which, such folly and stupidity had seized those of the army, that, upon loose and general promises of compliance, they continued their correspondence with him. The time fixed for the meeting of the general council of officers being come, though the deputies from Ireland were not arrived, nor any from the army under Col. Lambert; and though it was well known that none were chosen to represent the forces with Monk in Scotland; yet those of Wallingford-house resolved to act as if they had all been present. I had written to some of the officers in Ireland, that if they should take a resolution to send any persons to this council, they would do well to make choice of such as were most inclined to the restitution of the parliament; but that, as to my own particular, I was not willing to have any thing to do amongst them.

rem. Notwithstanding which, I soon received letter by the hands of Col. Salmon from the officers in Ireland, to desire me to act for them at the general council; which having imparted to some of my friends, and they concurring to encourage me to it, I would not refuse to serve them. Being in the council, I did what I could to procure the restitution of the parliament; wherein I was much assisted by Col. Rich. Five or six days we spent in a debate concerning the form of government, (which had been drawn up, as I said before), expecting the arrival of those that should be chosen for Ireland, Scotland, and the army in the north of England. During which time, Col. Rich and I took frequent occasions of informing the officers concerning the public affairs; desiring them to be cautious of engaging themselves in any design, of which they might have cause afterwards to repent; and exhorting them to contribute their endeavours towards settling such a government as all good men might concur in, and live happily under. We met with such success in our discourses with the officers, that though the Wallingford-house party had influenced the elections as much as they could, and, under pretence that the fleet was at too great a distance, and divided into too many squadrons, to be in a capacity of chusing in due time, had caused the committee of the admiralty to nominate whom they pleased to serve for the fleet; yet they found their wheels to move so slowly, that, to facilitate their business, they were obliged to send away divers officers to their commands, under colour that their presence was necessary in their respective stations, by reason of the dangers

dangers that threatened them from all parts; when, indeed, the true reason of their dismissal was taken from the dissatisfaction they began to shew with the proceedings of the chief officers. By these and other means it came to pass, that the grandees of the army resolved to spend no more time in the debate touching the form of government, and therefore desired a conference with Sir Henry Vane and Maj. Salloway; who, being unwilling to meet them without me, prevailed with me to accompany them to Wallingford-house; where Lt-Gen. Fleetwood expressed great uneasiness on account of the public distractions, and desired them to advise him what measures to take to remove the present difficulties, and to prevent greater mischiefs which seemed impending over us. These Gentlemen, suspecting the designs of Fleetwood and his party, kept themselves on their guard; and, in an ironical manner, told him, that the most certain way to cure all things would be, to set up Richard again. "Just as I thought," said Fleetwood, it has happened, that the coming of "my Lord Richard to Hampton-court would "give an occasion of jealousy;" and then protested, that his removal thither proceeded from himself, that he had not been advised to it by them, and that they had no intention to set him up again. We believed what we thought most reasonable concerning his removal to that place. But to that of his restitution, Maj. Salloway asked them, Whether things might not be brought to that pass, as to make it necessary, though they intended it not? Which Fleetwood denying, the Major pressed him farther, and desired to know from him, If it were not possible that

that the necessity of our affairs might oblige us to a compliance with Charles Stuart? Thus they stood upon their guard on both parts, not adventuring to trust one another; that mutual confidence by which they had done so much, being entirely lost. However, that I might not be wanting on my part, I told them with my usual freedom, that the restitution of the parliament seemed to me to be the only remedy to recover us from our present distempers, and to prevent the fatal consequences of our divisions. To this the Lieutenant-General answered, That, according to an agreement made between them and Maj.-Gen. Lambert before his departure, nothing could be done in that matter without mutual consent. And so we parted with as little satisfaction on either side as we brought with us. From them I went to the council of officers, who were then assembled; and was much surprised to find them debating, whether a new parliament should be called? and ready to go to the question; which I doubted not would pass in the affirmative, having observed that it met with little opposition, except from Col. Rich. And though I had but little hope to obstruct the design, yet, that I might discharge my duty, I took the liberty to lay before them the injustice and vanity of such a resolution; endeavouring to prove, that as they had no authority to warrant them in that attempt, so neither would it be of any advantage to the nation if it should succeed. I desired them to consider how great an enterprize they were about to undertake, without any sufficient authority to justify them in it; that they could not pretend to any from the parliament; and that it was as evident they

had none from the nations, no not from the military part of them, the deputies from Scotland and Ireland being not arrived, nor any from the army in the north of England; that at least one third part of the officers present were against their design; and that it seemed to me to be an unaccountable presumption, for two thirds of about a fourth part of the army to undertake to put a period to the civil authority. I endeavoured to persuade them, that the design was as vain and foolish as unwarrantable and unjust: for by this means they would utterly disoblige the parliament, and all their friends, who were very numerous; that Monk having declared against them already, and the greatest number of their own body disapproving the thing, it would come to pass, that all things would be brought into a miserable confusion; and it may be the common enemy would find means to return, and utterly destroy the contending parties. But their resolution being already taken, in consequence of the agreement they had made with the clergy and lawyers, we could obtain no more than a respite of the conclusion of this debate till the afternoon. Going out of the council, I desired Col. Desborough, whose interest I knew to be very great with the rest, that he would desist from the farther prosecution of this design; representing to him, as well as I could, the confusions and mischiefs that would inevitably ensue upon it. To which he answered, That the parliament had deceived them twice, and that they were now resolved to put it out of their power to do it again. In the afternoon the debate was reassumed; and a motion being made, that they would take the restitution

tution of the parliament into their consideration, Col. Desborough, to keep his word, did what he could to asperse the parliament; saying, That they had not performed any part of the promises that had been made for them before their first return to the house, having made no provision for the Lord Richard, as he called him; nor granted a satisfactory indemnity, but, by the insertion of divers oblique clauses, had rendered it absolutely ineffectual; that they had taken no care to secure a liberty to tender consciences, nor to provide for the public safety, by establishing a select senate; that they had manifested their unworthiness, not only in these negatives, but had also positively declared their intentions to ruin the army, by removing the principal officers, and placing others in their commands who were of a different spirit and principles, and by drawing up one part of the army against the other, in order to destroy both. For which reasons he declared his opinion to be, that to reinvest those with authority who were so manifestly unfit for that trust, would prove the worst of all the expedients that could be proposed. To this discourse I thought myself obliged to make some answer; and therefore took the freedom to say, That the parliament, being men, were liable to passions, and subject to imperfections; but that it might be said without immodesty, that they had been chargeable with as few as any of their predecessors, and possibly fewer than those that had pretended to succeed them; that they were the only number of men that had any legal call to the supreme authority; that God had eminently appeared for them, and wonderfully assisted them to subdue all

those that had opposed them both at home and abroad; that they had been so frugal of the public purse, that, upon the first interruption by Cromwel, a vast sum was found in the treasury, though their armies and fleets had been fully paid, and their magazines plentifully furnished with naval stores. How these advantages had been improved by those that had usurped their authority, was well known; and how the armies and fleets had been paid, they themselves were the best judges. At the return of the parliament to the exercise of their authority, in the place of those vast sums they had left in the public coffers, they found a debt of 2,400,000 l. contracted by those who had taken upon them the management of affairs. I desired them to observe, how unjustly the parliament was accused of breaking their promises, who had promised nothing; that some of us indeed, as private men, had engaged to promote certain things in the house, at the request of some officers of the army; but, at the same time, we acquainted them, that we could not answer for any thing, except our own sincere endeavours in that affair. And yet I appealed to themselves, if the parliament had not done those things in which we had promised our endeavours; having undertaken to pay more than 30,000 l. for Mr. Richard Cromwel, whereby he would be left in the clear possession of about 8000 l. a-year, besides woods, plate, jewels, and other things of value; having passed that very clause for liberty of conscience, which had been brought in by the officers themselves in their address; and having indemnified the soldiery in as full and ample manner as could be desired,



desired, with respect to their past actions, not only military but civil also; with this only reservation, That the parliament might, if they should find cause, call to account such as had received bribes and exorbitant salaries; which was only designed as a check upon those who had been, and still were enemies to the commonwealth. As to what related to the chief officers of the army, I told them it had been made good to a tittle; for they had continued Lt-Gen. Fleetwood to be Commander in chief of all their forces in England and Scotland: but if it was their intention, that he should be Commander in chief of the parliament also, I confessed myself persuaded, that it never had entered into the head of any of those persons before mentioned to engage for that; and therefore what the parliament did in causing him and the rest of the officers to take their commissions from them, and inserting a clause in that of the Commander in chief, that it should continue during this parliament, or till their farther order, was no way contrary to the promise of the said Gentlemen. Neither could it be a just ground of exception to those of the army, if their intentions were such as they ought to be; for the parliament being embarked in the same vessel, would find it necessary, as well for their own security as for that of the people, to leave the sword in faithful hands at the time of their dissolution, which they had fixed by a vote of the house. And since they still insisted upon their select senate, I desired them to remember, that I had declared in the conference my opinion to be, That if such a thing could be made use of for a time to preserve our cause by an extraor-

A a 3

dinary

dinary power, I thought I should not be against it without better information; but if they designed thereby to erect a military power, in equal or superior authority to the civil, I should oppose it to the utmost of my ability: and had farther added, that I was fully persuaded I therein delivered the sense and intentions of the greatest part of the parliament. To this they could make no reply, being conscious of the truth of what I said: but having made an agreement with the clergy, as I said before, that used to meet at the Savoy, they resolved to pursue it; and concluded, that, considering the present posture of affairs, a new parliament should be called, as the most probable means to reconcile all differences. They agreed also with the Ministers, that their maintenance by tithes should not be taken away, till another revenue as ample and certain should be settled upon them; that some provisions should be made for those who differed in faith and worship from the established church; but that the Quakers, and some others, whose principles, they said, tended to the destruction of the civil society, should not be tolerated at all.

Whilst the army was thus employed, the parliament-party was not wanting to promote their interest; and to that end formed a design to get the Tower into their hands. Col. Fitz, who who was then Lieutenant of the place, had consented that Col. Okey, with 300 men, should lie dispersed about the Tower, prepared for the enterprize; promising, that, on a certain day, he would cause the gates to be opened early in the morning, to let him pass in his coach; which opportunity Col. Okey with his men taking, might

might easily seize the guards, and possess himself of the place. And their attempt might have succeeded, had it not, by I know not what accident, been discovered to the Lord Mayor; who informed the army of it the night before it was to be put in execution. Whereupon Col. Desborough, with some forces, was sent thither; who changed the guards, seized the Lieutenant of the Tower, and left Col. Miller to command there till farther order. Another party appeared for the parliament in Wiltshire, under the command of Maj. Croke; who having told divers of my friends in that county, that the principal reasons of his dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the army had been taken from what I had said in the late council of officers, he prevailed with divers of them to side with him; and so marched towards Portsmouth, in order to join Sir Arthur Haslerig and Col. Morley, who had already possessed themselves of that place, and declared for the restitution of the parliament. About the same time Hurst castle was secured for the parliament; whereby the communication of those in the Isle of Wight with England being rendered very difficult, they declared for the parliament also. The fleet began to incline to the same counsels; and dispatched a messenger to Sir Arthur Haslerig at Portsmouth, to assure him they would do nothing in opposition to them. In this conjuncture, the parliament-party resolved to send Col. Walton, who was one of them, to communicate the present state of affairs to Col. Monk, and to advise him what measures he should take.

In the mean time the Wallingford-house party, as if infatuated by a superior power to procure

cure their own destruction, continued obstinately to oppose the parliament, and fixed in their resolution to call another. On the other side, I was sorry to find most of the parliament-men as stiff, in requiring an absolute submission to their authority, as if no differences had happened amongst us, nor the privileges of parliament ever been violated; peremptorily insisting upon the entire subjection of the army, and refusing to hearken to any terms of accommodation; though the necessity of affairs seemed to demand it, if we would preserve our cause from ruin. Therefore, though I had resolved to depart with all convenient speed to my charge in Ireland, yet I was induced to defer my journey for some time, at the solicitation of my friends, who persuaded themselves that I might have interest enough with both parties to procure an accommodation between them. To that end, I took all occasions to moderate the spirits of the members of parliament. And that I might not render myself suspected to the officers, I continued to frequent their councils; which I was the more willing to do, because the Irish brigade that was with Col. Lambert had signified to the council of officers, that they had chosen me, with Lt-Col. Walker, and two Gentlemen more whose names I cannot recollect, to represent them at their meetings.

At this time Col. Lockhart, Governor of Dunkirk, finding his work at an end abroad, by the conclusion of a peace between the crowns of France and Spain, returned to England; and coming to wait on Sir Henry Vane one day at his house, it was my fortune to be there at the same time. In the conversation we had, he very much lamented the divisions that were among  
us;

us; affirming, that if they had not proved an obstruction to him in his negotiations, we might have had what terms we could have asked either from France or Spain. \*

The army having resolved, as I said before, to call a new parliament, and many difficulties arising amongst them touching that matter; they referred the consideration of it to their committee of safety; who, having spent some time in the debate, reported as their opinion to the council of officers, That the best way to be taken for summoning a parliament, would be to act therein according to ancient custom, directing only some few qualifications to be observed as well in the electors as in the persons to be elected. Which when I perceived, and that no rules for qualifications could possibly be given and executed within the time appointed for the parliament to meet, and that the design of the army tended manifestly to have such a parliament as would permit the men of the sword to possess themselves of the supreme authority; or if they should refuse to be brought to that, then, being a creature of the army, they should be dismissed with scorn, and the power resumed by the military men: for the prevention of these mischiefs, I proposed to the council of officers, that the essentials of our cause might be clearly stated, and declared inviolable by any authority whatsoever; and that in case any difference should hereafter arise between the parliament and the army touching those particulars or any of them, a certain number of persons of known integrity might be appointed by this council finally to determine the matter. The council having without much difficulty agreed to this proposition, I presumed to proceed farther; and being fully persuaded, that

that if such a power were conferred upon honest and disinterested persons, it would give more satisfaction to good men, and better provide for the public safety, than to have the final decision of all things left to a mercenary army, I adventured to give in a list of one and twenty persons for that service, who should be called *Conservators of liberty*. Then we went upon the debate of such particulars as should be referred to their cognisance and judgment; which were as followeth:

1. That the government should not be altered from a commonwealth, by setting up a King, single person, or house of Peers.
2. That liberty of conscience should not be violated.
3. That the army should not be diminished, their conduct altered, nor their pay lessened without the consent of the major part of the conservators.

Having proceeded thus far, it was resolved to put the names of the persons contained in the list, to the vote of the council for their approbation; which was done in this manner. Every one of the council having received two small pieces of paper; in one of which was written an *N* for the negative, and in the other an *A* for the affirmative; when the candidate's name was proposed, every man put which of those he pleased into a hat; which done, the papers were taken out; and being found to agree for number with the persons there present, if the greater number of papers were marked with the letter *A*, then the person proposed was accounted to be chosen; otherwise, to be omitted. I had contrived it so, that the names of the first seven or eight

eight persons of the list were officers of their own party, except Maj. Salloway and Sir Henry Vane; by which means chiefly it came to pass that the two last passed without opposition. But then they made a breach upon the order; and having put my name to the question against my will, I was approved. Which when they had done, Lt-Gen. Fleetwood proposed Col. Titchburn, one who had lately moved to set up Richard Cromwel again; and after him the Lord Wariston, who had publicly declared against liberty of conscience; with Mr. Strickland, Sir Gilbert Pickering, and two or three more, all of their faction; and procured them to be chosen, in the room of Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Wallop, Col. Walton, Col. Morley, Mr. Henry Nevill, and Col. Monk, who were next in order upon the list, and with whom I designed to balance the Wallingford-house party. But, by putting in these creatures in their places, it was evident they designed nothing less than to draw the whole power into their own hands: and lest we should doubt of their intentions, they gave an exclusion to Col. Rich, though present, and a considerable officer in the army; because they suspected him not to favour their arbitrary designs. Here my patience began to leave me; and I told them openly, that, seeing they intended only to carry on a faction, and to govern the nation by the sword, I resolved to have no more to do with them, and thereupon refused to give in my billet upon the names of the six or seven persons that were last proposed. But they completed their number; and, in the next public intelligence, caused the names of those one and twenty persons whom they had elected to be the

the conservators of liberty, to be published to the world, with notice of their resolution to summon a new parliament ; thinking thereby to please the people. But they were mistaken ; for no man that loved his country, could approve of it. And the cavalier-party conceived such hopes of their own affairs, that they grew impatient of any farther delays, and designed the destruction of the army by open force. To that end, divers of their party who had fled to parts beyond the seas, returned secretly to London, and entered into the confederacy. The time of putting their design in execution was agreed ; and the places of rendezvous, being ten in number, all in and about the city, were appointed. But it happened again, that the army received information of the conspiracy the evening before it should have been executed ; and being alarmed at the danger, they immediately sent divers parties of horse and foot to take possession of those places which were appointed by the enemy for their drawing together ; by which means they seized some of them, who at twelve o'clock the same night were already come together completely armed on a part of the Temple near the water-side. Others of the same company got over the walls, and escaped in boats. They took also, at an inn in London, thirty horses with saddles and holsters, and as many men ready to mount them. Many more of the conspirators were taken at the several places of rendezvous, where the army had placed their guards ; and some of them confessed, that the officer who commanded the party that was placed near Paul's church, had promised to join with them ; which was not improbable, he being one of those



those who, having never engaged in our cause, was advanced by Oliver Cromwel as his creature, and sent to Dunkirk; from whence he had been lately recalled by the army, whose ambition he had thoroughly seconded by his votes in the council of officers. And though this storm was, by the vigilance and care of the army, pretty well dispersed; yet their insolent and arbitrary actions gave birth to other clouds that threatened them with ruin more than the former. For soon after, the officers that commanded the fleet, published a declaration against the arbitrary proceedings of the Wallingford-house party, rehearsing the particulars for which they had engaged in the public service, and declaring their resolution to continue faithful to those engagements. This declaration came out somewhat earlier than was intended, by reason of the arrival of Col. Okey and Mr. Scot in the fleet; who were obliged to go thither for protection from the power of the army; the former being known to have had the principal share in the design of seizing the Tower for the parliament. The other was not only suspected to have been concerned in that affair, but also to keep correspondence with the Generals at Portsmouth, and with Col. Monk in Scotland. The army hoping to quiet the fleet with fair words and large promises, dispatched Col. Barrow to them; supposing him to be a proper person to be employed to lay them asleep, because they knew he had the good opinion of Vice-Adm. Lawson: and indeed not undeservedly; for he was a man of probity; and though he had been in some measure seduced by their subtleties, yet he was not a confidant of their junto. But the Vice-Admiral was

too well acquainted with the pernicious designs of the army, to be cajoled into a retraction of what he had done.

The cavalier-party about London finding themselves disappointed in their design of destroying the army by an insurrection, attempted to do it another way; and to that end encouraged the apprentices to meet in great multitudes, to petition the Aldermen and common council, that they would use their endeavours to procure a free parliament to be speedily called; well knowing what the consequence of that would be in the present conjuncture of affairs. Many men of the King's party, and of desperate fortunes, intermixed themselves with them; and inflamed them to such a height of violence, that the army thought it necessary to send a regiment of foot to suppress them, under the command of Col. Hewetson; who, when he was come into the city, was affronted to his face, his men fired upon from the windows, and stones thrown on them from the tops of the houses; and, as they proceeded in their march, were so pressed by the multitude, that the soldiers, to preserve themselves from their violence, were obliged to fire upon them; and having killed three or four of their number, the rest dispersed themselves for that time. But tumults were now become so frequent in the city, that the army-party found themselves obliged to send considerable guards thither almost every day to suppress them; one of which being commanded by Col. Desborough, carried themselves so roughly towards divers eminent citizens, that they greatly disgusted the whole city. The Aldermen and common council, not thinking it convenient openly to patronize

ed upon a paper to be  
f officers; wherein ha-  
nults, they complained  
en, and of the guards  
y; desiring that they  
l the guard of the city  
te, who could not o-  
re the peace; and that  
be forthwith called.  
to the council of offi-  
of the court of Alder-  
a council; and, being  
hose of the army, that,  
mon council would de-  
f the Stuarts, and pro-  
hful to the common-  
single person, or house  
withdraw their soldiers,  
uarded by itself. They  
at they had already re-  
at; and, for the farther  
en and common coun-  
of their own number,  
d me to be one, to con-  
the reasons of these re-  
e proceedings of the ar-  
net at Whitehall; and,  
had spent some time in  
f sending part of the ar-  
of the city, and had made  
the army's friendship to  
ty to say, that those who  
army could best inform  
entions in the late pro-  
wherein I should not in-  
his opportunity, ?

ing a wellwisher to the commonwealth, I would take upon me to put them in mind, that we had all been engaged together in the defence of our rights and liberties against arbitrary power; that the city had been eminently instrumental in assisting the parliament and army to carry on that weighty affair, whereby they had acquired honour to themselves, esteem amongst good men, and satisfaction in their own minds; but withal it ought to be considered, that by this they had highly incensed and vehemently provoked the common enemy against them; who, though they might caress them for the present, and make them the most solemn promises of future kindness, would never forget the aid and support they had afforded to the parliament during the whole course of the late war, but would certainly take a time to be revenged on them to the utmost. Wherefore I desired them, as they tendered the peace of the nation, and the preservation of their persons and estates, that they would not suffer themselves to be deluded by our common adversaries, and seduced by specious pretences to promote that interest, which prevailing, would not only render all the blood and treasure that had been spent in asserting our liberties, of no use to us, but also force us under such a yoke of servitude, that neither we nor our posterity should be able to bear. Divers of them seemed much surprised at this discourse, because they had taken other resolutions; yet others, and particularly Alderman Fowke, expressed their approbation of what I had said, and declared their resolution to act accordingly, provided they might be assured not to be governed by an army. In which I assured them my judgment concurred

curring with them, which my actions should always demonstrate. And as I did, upon all public occasions, endeavour to persuade our divided parties to unite for their common safety, so I am not sensible that I neglected any private opportunity to bring about that end. Therefore, when I waited on Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, which frequently happened, I never failed to exhort him, during this unhappy breach, that he would use his endeavours for the restitution of the parliament. About which being one day somewhat earnest with him, and having acquainted him, that, finding my good offices between the parliament-men and the army were likely to prove ineffectual, I was resolved to go to my station in Ireland; his Lady overhearing these last words from her chamber, and being informed that I was alone with the Lieutenant-General, she came into the room where we were, and with tears began to lament the present condition of her husband, who, she said, had been always unwilling to do any thing in opposition to the parliament; assuring me, that he was utterly ignorant of the contrivance of the officers at Derby, to petition the parliament in so insolent a manner, and had not had any part in their proceedings upon it afterwards; that, as to herself, she had always solicited him to comply in all things with the orders of the parliament; and that, fearing the consequences of the petition from Derby, she had taken the original, and locked it up in her cabinet, where it still was. She desired me to defer my journey to Ireland, till differences should be composed between the parliament and the army; saying, that she knew I had an interest in both, which she

hoped I would improve for the good of both, and not forget to do what good offices I could for her husband, who, she said, had always expressed a great friendship for me. I confess I was moved with the discourse of the Lady, and could have been contented to put off my journey for Ireland some time longer, if I had not clearly seen it impossible to adjust the differences between our contending parties. For the army, instead of hearkening to an accommodation, had not only resolved to call a new parliament, but also published a proclamation to appoint the day and place of their meeting. Besides, I was under no small apprehensions that disorders might arise amongst the officers in Ireland, which was my peculiar province; and therefore I resolved to hasten my departure, and acquainted the Lieutenant-General that my resolution was fixed; at which both he and his Lady seemed much troubled. The next morning I went with Sir Henry Vane and Maj. Salloway to the chamber of the horse-guard at Whitehall, where the principal officers used to meet, in order to take leave of them, and to let them know how much we were dissatisfied with the measures they had taken. But when we came there, we found them under great confusion, by reason of the certain information they had received, that the fleet had unanimously declared for the restitution of the parliament. This news had wrought such an alteration in them, that they expressed to us their readiness to comply with the desires of the fleet, so it might be done upon convenient terms; and earnestly importuned Sir Henry Vane, and Maj. Salloway, to go down to the fleet, with some of their party, to treat with the commanders

commanders at sea about the affair: Sir Henry Vane, who was always ready to promote the service of the public, accepted the employment without any hesitation, though the weather then was extreme sharp, it being in the midst of winter, and he distempered with a great cold. To him were joined Maj. Salloway and Col. Salmon, with powers from the officers of the army to treat with those of the fleet: where, after they had spent four or five days in that negotiation, they returned to make their report to those who had desired them to undertake that trouble; which, to the best of my remembrance, was to this effect: That, at their first coming on board, Mr. Scot declined to speak with them, and Col. Okey used them more roughly; but that, by the persuasions of Vice-Adm. Lawson, they did at last consent to a conference; where they appeared very averse to any proposal of terms to be made with the parliament before their readmission, insisting upon the absolute submission of the army to the authority of the parliament.

Another difficulty arose touching the commissioners to be appointed by the fleet to treat with an equal number of the army, about the restitution of the parliament. And the Vice-Admiral having proposed Sir Henry Vane, Maj. Salloway, Mr. Scot, and himself, for that purpose, Mr. Scot excepted against Sir Henry Vane and Maj. Salloway, as persons that had too far espoused the interest of the army. But the prudence and moderation of Vice-Adm. Lawson removed these obstructions, and prevailed with Mr. Scot to comply. The officers of the army gave thanks to Sir Henry Vane, and the rest of the commissioners, for their labour and good service; which  
made

made me conceive some hopes of a speedy accommodation, since there now seemed little more remaining to be done by the army, but to nominate their four commissioners, for which they took time till the afternoon. But so ripe were these men for destruction, and so abandoned of every reasonable thought, that they knew not how to make use of this opportunity; and, instead of naming persons to treat about the restitution of the parliament, they used all the arts imaginable to prevail with the council of officers to vote a new parliament to be called; wherein they succeeded so much, that one of the principal of them told me in the afternoon, that he had altered his opinion, and was fully convinced that the restitution of the parliament was the very worst remedy that could be applied to the distempers of the nation. After they had taken this resolution, I resolved upon my journey for Ireland with all expedition; and having made the necessary preparations for my departure, I went into the chamber where the council of officers accustomed to meet, and there freely told them, that the measures they had resolved to take, if pursued, would certainly bring ruin on themselves, and possibly on the people of England. Hereupon Col. Desborough took me aside, and proposed for an expedient, to make choice of sixty persons of the best and ablest of the old parliament, to be the select senate that should have a negative upon the representative. To which I answered, That I hoped the members of the parliament aimed only at the promotion of the public good, and not at the advancement of themselves to places of power; but if that could be supposed to be the disease of  
any



any of them, yet the late experience they had of the uselessness and vanity of the other house, who made themselves only the objects of scorn and pity, would be sufficient to caution them against treading in their steps, and entering into a contest and competition with those that represented the whole nation, without any other support but that of the army, of whose unfaithfulness they had already made such evident discoveries. The same day in the evening Lt-Col. Walker, whom I had desired to go to Wallingford-house, and to bring me an account of their last result before my departure, came to me with news that they had again changed their measures, and finally resolved upon the restitution of the parliament; pretending for the reason of this great alteration, that Lt-Gen. Fleetwood had been extremely disturbed in his mind the night before, in contemplation of the mischiefs that were likely to ensue if they should proceed upon their former resolution. But most men believed, that the true reasons of this sudden change were taken from the submission of their forces that had been sent to besiege Portsmouth, to the Generals of the parliament, who had possessed themselves of that place; whereof they having received an account, began to despair of subsisting any longer in opposition to the parliament. The manner of their deserting the service of the army was thus. They generally thought the differences between the parties not sufficiently important to warrant any actions of open hostility, especially the horse, who, in the absence of the Colonel, were commanded by Maj. Bremen, Major to Col. Rich's regiment. He having sounded the inclinations of the soldiers,

dicts, and informed divers of them of their duty, gave advice of his proceedings to the Colonel; who, perceiving the officers of the fleet, and many of those of the army, to desire the return of the parliament, went down privately from London to his regiment. Being arrived before Portsmouth, and finding both horse and foot prepared for his design, he gave notice of his intentions to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and the rest of the commanders in the place; who having caused the gate to be opened, Col. Rich, with the forces that had hitherto lain before the town as enemies, marched in, and joined themselves to the parliament's Generals. The next morning after the news of this event was brought to London, the army-party summoned a council of officers, consisting not only of the standing forces, but also of the city-militia, and proposed to them an instrument to sign, whereby they should engage to stand by each other, notwithstanding the return of the parliament. The officers seemed unwilling to subscribe the paper, and therefore it was not peremptorily required; but being permitted to give their approbation by votes, they passed it without many negatives. Whilst this matter was under debate, letters were brought to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood; which after he had read, he called me aside, and acquainting me with the contents of them, he delivered them to me, and desired I would keep them private. The substance of them was, that a party of the army in Ireland had possessed themselves of the castle of Dublin, seized on Col. Jones, who commanded in my absence, taken the commissioners into custody, and published a declaration for the parliament; of which a  
copy

copy was inclosed in the letters. Therein they declared the reasons of their proceedings to be grounded on their desires to relieve the nation from the government of the sword, which they saw was endeavoured to be established, not only in England, but also in Ireland, even by those who had lately signed an address to the parliament, and sent it over by their Commander in chief, as they were yet pleased to call me. They acknowledged the guilt of those who had offered violence to the civil authority, and their own unworthiness, so far as they might have contributed to keep them from the exercise of their just power; promising to yield obedience to their commands for the future; and declaring their resolution to join with the Generals at Portsmouth, Col. Monk, and Vice-Admiral Lawson, in order to procure the restitution of the parliament. Having read this declaration, and finding it to agree with my sense of the public affairs, and signed by my brother-in-law Col. Kempson, with many others of known integrity, I could not refuse to give it my approbation. But when I had considered, that it was also subscribed by Col. Theophilus Jones, who upon all occasions had shewed himself a principal instrument of mischief amongst us, and by Col. Bridges and others, who had been very active to support the usurpation of the Cromwells, I became doubtful what judgment to make of it. However, having seen things brought to an issue in England, I concluded it to be my duty to hasten to my charge in Ireland; that if their intentions were just and honest, I might encourage and assist them; and if I should find them otherwise inclined, that I might endeavour to reduce

reduce them to their duty. Therefore, having taken leave of my friends and relations, I departed from London : and being on my way to Chester, in order to imbarck for Ireland, I received letters by a messenger sent on purpose from my brother Kempson; by which I understood, that the surprisal of Dublin had been principally contrived and carried on by Col. Bridges, Lt-Col. Warren, Maj. Warden, Maj. Warren, Capt. Joyner, and Col. Theophilus Jones; that the pretence of their meeting together at Dublin, was to petition for a general council of officers, that the sense of the army there touching the public affairs might be fairly collected and represented. Those who had the immediate management of things in Ireland having refused to grant their request, the officers above mentioned resolved to put their design in execution; and having gained the greatest part of a foot-company that was quartered in the armory near the iron gate of the castle, they ordered three of the private soldiers who were best known to the sentinel that was upon the guard, to desire him to open the gate, and to let them in to do some business which they pretended to have in the castle. But so soon as the sentinel had opened the gate, the three soldiers secured him; and, immediately after, the rest of their confederates, with Maj. Warden at the head of them, rushed in, and surpris'd the guard. Being thus possessed of the castle, they seized upon Col. John Jones; and sent Maj. Warren to take into his custody Mr. Corbet and Col. Thomlinson, the other two commissioners; which he did as they were coming from the church. My brother Kempson was at this time in my lodgings in the castle, and

and heard nothing of this action, till some of the principal persons concerned came to him, and acquainted him with what had passed, desiring him to join with them; which he thought fit to promise. Then they sent to Sir Hardress Waller, giving him an account of their success; and desired his assistance, though he had not been made acquainted with their design. My brother also informed me, that though he had contributed towards drawing up the declaration of this party to the best advantage he could for the public interest, yet he was so unsatisfied with the spirit and principles of these men, that he was very hardly persuaded to sign it. The horse that were in the town, had for the most part joined with this party; but a company of foot of Col. Lawrence's regiment being got together upon this alarm, and solicited to declare with them for the parliament, made answer, That they knew not what parliament they meant; but that they were resolved to be faithful to the parliament, and to me their Commander in chief. In these words most of the forces in Ireland afterwards declared; and Sir Hardress Waller desired my brother Kempson to let me know, that he had carried his life in his hand, and hazarded all in this affair for my sake. And that there might be no want of protestations, Maj. Warden himself told my brother, that though I thought him a cavalier, yet I should find him as faithful to the commonwealth as any man. Yet for all this my brother acquainted me, that he much doubted the sincerity of their intentions; and the rather, because Sir Charles Coote had seized Galway, and turned out Col. Sadler the Governor of that place; that he had

imprisoned Maj. Ormsby, an officer of courage and honesty; and had drawn together a considerable body both of horse and foot, consisting chiefly of the English-Irish. Therefore he concluded, that I would lose no time, but hasten to them with all possible expedition. Having received this account of the affairs of Ireland, and being persuaded that Sir Arthur Haslerig was like to have a great influence upon the public counsels, I sent him a copy of my letter; and earnestly desired him to take care not to be seduced by fair promises and specious pretences, to strengthen the hands of those in whom he never had found, nor was like to find any just grounds of confidence. Before my departure from Chester, I made a visit and took leave of Col. Croxton Governor of that place; who, as he had always done, gave me all possible demonstration of his affection to the commonwealth. From thence I went to Beaumaris; where I found a ship of war carrying about thirty guns, commanded by Capt. Aldworth. And though I had no order from any superior powers, yet the Captain promised, if he could get out of the harbour, to set sail for Ireland the next morning. Which having done according to his promise, we cast anchor the day after in the bay of Bullock, over-against my house at Monckton. But not thinking it prudent to go ashore till I had farther informed myself of the state of affairs, I writ a letter to Sir Hardress Waller and the rest of the officers, to acquaint them, that the parliament being again restored to their authority, according to their desires expressed in their address and late declaration, wherein I concurred in judgment with them, I was come over to  
join

join with them, and to afford them my assistance to accomplish those things for which they had declared. This letter I sent to them by our Deputy-advocate; and when the boat went off, Capt. Aldworth caused his guns to be fired, which gave notice to those at Dublin of my arrival. At the return of the boat, my brother Kempson, accompanied by divers officers, came on board; and informed me, that the affairs of Ireland were in a much worse condition than at the time he had written to me in England, by reason of the prevalency of Sir Charles Coote, who, with one or two more, influenced the whole council of officers as they pleased; and that all those who had been displaced for debauchery or disaffection, had joined with him; by which means divers officers of known affection to the public had been obliged to quit their posts, and yield their garrisons to his creatures: that Col. Brayfield, Governor of Athlone, having refused to surrender that place to Sir Charles Coote, he had drawn his forces before it, and by tampering with some of the garrison, and falsely affirming, that the Governor would deliver them up to him, he had prevailed with them to set open the gates of the castle, and to betray their Governor into his hands: that, upon this encouragement, he had marched to Dublin with a considerable body of horse, amongst whom he had distributed a great sum of money to secure them to his interest: that the like success had attended divers others of his associates in several parts of that country; particularly, that Col. Edmund Temple had possessed himself of Carlo, whereof Col. Pretty was Governor; that Capt. Lisle had dispossessed Lt-

Col. Desborough of Drogheda ; and that Maj. Wilson had seized Limerick, whereof Col. Nelson had been made Governor by me ; that Maj. Stanley, whom I had permitted, upon his request, to stay in the citadel of Clonmel, till his wife, who was ready to lie down, should be brought to bed, had made use of the opportunity to possess himself of that place ; that Col. Cooper, whom I had intrusted to command some forces in the north, had fallen sick upon the late change, and was since dead ; and that his Lieutenant-Colonel had been seized by a party of his own soldiers, and brought prisoner to Dublin ; where a sum of money was given to them for that service ; and that Lt-Col. Fowke, with the assistance of the cavalier-party, had seized upon Youghall. My brother also informed me, that Sir Charles Coote, and those who had seized the power into their hands, had prevailed with the council of officers to pass a vote, not to receive me as Commander in chief, till the pleasure of the parliament should be signified to them ; pretending me to be an enemy to the parliament, and in the interest of the army. In the mean time, Col. Phair Governor of Cork, Col. Saunders Governor of Kinsale, Col. Richards Governor of Wexford, and Lt-Col. Arnop Governor of Inniskillin, had declared for the parliament, but refused to obey the orders of those at Dublin. In this confusion were the affairs of Ireland ; two parties contending, and accounting each other enemies, and yet both declaring for the parliament. Having received this information, and being fully convinced of the ill intentions of this party, however they sought to disguise their actions un-  
der



der the specious pretext of affection to the parliament; since I could not do what I desired for the public service, yet I resolved to endeavour to act as I ought, in the discharge of that trust which the parliament had reposed in me. And to that end, I writ letters, and directed them to the commanders of garrisons, and to the officers of regiments, of whose fidelity I had the best assurance; acquainting them with the return of the parliament to the exercise of their authority; assuring them of my constant affections to the parliament, and my resolution to adhere to them; requiring the commanders and officers of the respective garrisons and regiments, as they valued the cause of God and their country, to continue faithful to the parliament, and to withdraw from those, who, under pretence of declaring for the parliament, had usurped the power; which they designed to use for their destruction, and for the re-establishment of arbitrary power amongst us. Therein I also ordered them to draw into considerable bodies, if possible, and to defend themselves against those who should adventure to attack them; and if they should be overpowered, to draw towards Munster, where I would endeavour, with what force I could get together, to give them my assistance; promising to justify them in their refusal to obey any of those who derived not their authority from the parliament or me. These letters I put into the hands of one Mildmay, who had accompanied my brother Kempson to me, with orders to deliver them as they were directed; which he promised faithfully to perform. The next morning, one of my servants, whom I had sent to buy

some provisions for us, returned on board, and informed me, that as soon as those at Dublin had received notice of my arrival, they sent a party of horse to my house, with orders to seize me; who not finding me there, had marched towards the sea-side, where they lay privately, in hopes to surprize me at my landing. Notwithstanding which, our boat, being well manned and armed, came back safe to the ship with some provisions. The next day we saw a vessel coming from England; which proving to be the packet-boat, I opened the mail, and found therein more plainly what I suspected before; especially in one of the letters to Col. Theophilus Jones, wherein some mention being made of the affairs of Charles Stuart, it was thus corrected, "But no more of that till the next summer." This letter, with some others, I kept; and permitted the master of the packet-boat to carry the rest to the town. About noon, Capt. Lucas came to me on board, with an answer to the letter I had sent the day before to the officers at Dublin; wherein they expressed great joy for the restitution of the parliament, and acquainted me with the resolution of their council of officers concerning me, on suspicion that I had taken part with the army against the parliament. They also informed me, that they had dispatched a message to the parliament's Generals, for orders from them, or the parliament, for their future conduct; desiring, in the mean time, that I would, for avoiding inconveniences, retire into England; protesting themselves ready to obey me as their Commander in chief, so soon as the pleasure of the parliament, or their Generals, should be signified to that purpose.

This

This messenger gave me also the copy of a letter from Col. Monk to Col. John Jones, which, he said, had been found amongst the Colonel's papers at the time when he was seized; by which Monk endeavoured to persuade him of his affection to the cause of the commonwealth, with a solemn profession of his resolution to be true and faithful to the parliament, and to oppose to the death the setting up a King, single person, or house of Lords. Capt. Lucas being ready to return to Dublin, I gave him my reply to the answer he brought me from the officers, appealing to their own consciences for my adherence and affection to the parliament; telling them, that the duty of my charge would not permit me to return to England in such a conjuncture; that I had received my commission from the parliament, and did not find that it enjoined me to obey the commands of those who for the most part had no commissions from them; that I was resolved to prosecute, as far as I was able, the ends of my commission for the service of the parliament, by whom I was intrusted; requiring them to forbear any opposition against me, as they would answer for the blood that might be shed in the dispute. I acquainted Capt. Lucas with the substance of my letter; who thereupon proposed, that seeing I was confident of my good intentions, and that both myself and those at Dublin aimed at the same thing, I would go to them; and, by satisfying their scruples, adjust the differences between us. But I told him, that I was too well informed of their principles and designs to put myself into their hands. "Then, said he, you do not think us to be for the parliament?" No indeed,

deed, said I : and it is most manifest to me, that the design of those who now govern the council of officers, though at present it be covered with pretences for the parliament, is to destroy both them and their friends, and to bring in the son of the late King.

Perceiving the passage to Dublin to be barred against me, and being disappointed of some farther provisions that I had sent for ; the enemy, for such they had declared themselves to me, not permitting them to be brought on board, I resolved to try if I could find reception from any other garrison on the coast ; hoping that the parliament would in a short time take off the pretended objection against me, that I was an enemy to them ; or if they should so far abandon the care of their own safety, to leave the power in the hands of these usurpers, I should yet have the satisfaction of having done all that I could to discharge the trust they had placed in me. But before I departed from the bay of Dublin, I dispatched a relation of my wife to England by the packet-boat, with letters for the parliament ; wherein I gave them the best account I could of the state of affairs in Ireland, and desired their instructions how to govern myself in so nice a conjuncture ; assuring them, that as I had never been solicitous to procure the employment wherein their favour had placed me, so I could be well contented to withdraw from that public station, if they should think fit to recal me from it. To these letters I added others for Sir Arthur Haslerig and Mr. Scot, with copies of some of the letters which I had intercepted coming from England for those at Dublin. Having dispatched the packet-boat, we  
set

set sail for Duncannon, where I had placed one Capt. Skinner to command, in whom I had great confidence; and the next morning, about eight or nine of the clock, we were in view of the shore near Wexford. Being come within a league of Duncannon, and not knowing in whose hands that place might be in this strange revolution of affairs, I sent a messenger to Capt. Alland, whom I had made Governor of the fort at Passage, to be informed by him of their condition. The next morning our messenger returned, with the Captain, and two or three more; who acquainted me, that though no means had been left unattempted to procure the fort of Duncannon to be delivered to those at Dublin, that Capt. Skinner had constantly refused to obey any orders not proceeding from the parliament or me. He also informed me, that Col. Richards Governor of Wexford, Col. Phair Governor of Cork, and Col. Saunders Governor of Kinsale, had acted in the like manner; and that he had hopes that those of Waterford would also declare for me, having promised so to do when I should arrive. But that the person I had intrusted with the command of Kilkenny had been frightened out of his government; and that Lt-Col. Hurd, who had been removed for his vicious life, and disaffection to the public, was got into the place. Being informed of these particulars, I landed the same day in the evening at Duncannon; where I was received with great demonstrations of joy by Capt. Skinner the Governor, and the garrison, who at my arrival fired their guns round the fort, and were answered by those from our ship of war that lay in the harbour; by which means those of Waterford

terford had notice of my landing. Doubting what the issue of things might be, I took a view of the place; and having perceived, that the garrison was not sufficiently provided either with men or provisions, I took the best care I could for their supply. To this end, one of the officers having engaged to bring in the greatest part of a foot-company in the regiment of Col. Stephens, I sent him out with orders to that purpose. I dispatched a messenger also to my tenants at Bally-Magger, which lay not far from us, to desire them to furnish me with corn, beef, and other necessaries. I revictualled our men of war, whose provisions were almost spent; and borrowed divers sums of money of my friends in the parts adjacent, which I knew to be of singular use in case of extremity. Having done this, I sent letters to Col. Leigh, Governor of Waterford, and to the rest of the officers there, acquainting them with the restitution of the parliament, and with my arrival at Duncannon, in order to promote their service; wherein I required them to afford me their assistance. I wrote letters also to Col. Puckle Governor of Ross, to the same effect; and dispatched others to Col. Richards, Col. Phair, and Col. Saunders, to encourage them to continue to act as they had hitherto done. From Waterford I had a civil return to my message brought by some of their officers, who came to make me a visit; but I could not get a positive answer from them to the contents of my letter. And I still insisting, that they would declare themselves, they sent one Capt. Bolton, and three other persons, to me, desiring that I would satisfy them touching the objection that had been given out against me,

That

That I was an enemy to the parliament; which having done, as I might well, they departed in appearance well satisfied. In the mean time, Col. Temple, with some horse, was ordered to block up the fort of Duncannon; and having possessed himself of the ways leading to it, one of his parties stopped some country-people that were bringing some black cattle for the use of the garrison; which having perceived, I ordered a party of foot, being altogether destitute of horse, to go by a short way, and to post themselves in a pass through which they were to return. And though they came too late to recover the cattle, yet they prevailed with divers of the party to come to me into the fort; where they assured me, that they had been brought before us merely in obedience to their superior officers, and were much troubled at the differences amongst us. They acknowledged, that they had long served under me, and were more willing to continue to do so still, than to serve under any other person; and that, understanding that both the contending parties waited for the signification of the parliament's pleasure concerning the public affairs, they promised to withdraw from the fort, and to come no more against us. By which it may farther appear how unwilling the forces on both sides were to come to any open acts of hostility; it being not easy for men in an ordinary station, unacquainted with public counsels, and of ordinary capacities, so soon to discern the way to their duty through the specious pretences of each party. But the cabal at Dublin resolving to carry on their wicked design by force, if they could not do it by fraud, displaced by their own usurped authority all the field-officers of the army,

my, except Maj. Ed. Warren, with most of the other officers that the parliament had commissioned, filling their places with the most vitious and disaffected persons they could find. Which having done, they caused a report to be published, that Sir Charles Coote, with a considerable force, would come to besiege me in Duncannon : whereby they obtained this advantage, that our enemies in Waterford were encouraged to appear openly ; and our friends, uncertain of the event, would not venture to declare themselves. Besides, Col. Leigh their Governor began now openly to side with those at Dublin ; either from his malice to me, for reproving him formerly for his zeal in supporting the usurpation of Cromwel ; or from a selfish principle that was natural to him, of joining always with the rising party ; though, being an Anabaptist, he might have considered, that he was not likely to find much favour with the grandees at Dublin.

The enemy, as had been before reported, drew down before Duncannon ; and Capt. Scot, son to Mr. Scot a member of the parliament, whom I have had occasion frequently to mention, sent a letter to inform me, that, being appointed by the officers at Dublin to reduce the place to the obedience of the parliament, he was come thither to that purpose. Having read his letter, I wrote an answer to it, and communicated them both to the officers and soldiers of the garrison. In my answer, I told him, that we were really for that, which they only pretended as a colour to worse designs ; that I acted by the authority of the parliament, and should endeavour faithfully to discharge my duty ; requiring them forthwith to depart, and return to the



the obedience of those to whom they owed it, as they would answer the contrary to God and man. I desired the Captain to communicate my answer to those that were with him, as I assured him I had done his letter to the officers and soldiers of my garrison. Whilst these things were doing, Sir Charles Coote, Col. Theophilus Jones, and the rest of the cabal at Dublin, sent one Capt. Campbell to Col. Monk, to acquaint him with the progress they had made. Upon which he caused the cannon at Berwick to be fired in testimony of his joy; and sent back the messenger to them with letters of thanks for their good service; desiring them not to restore the commissioners of the parliament, whom they had seized, to the exercise of their authority. But, as I afterwards understood by some of Coote's party, he mentioned nothing concerning me in his letters; not knowing, as I presume, but that I might be in a condition to retard, if not totally obstruct his grand design; as probably I had done, with the blessing of God, if the parliament had not abandoned me, and their own interest at the same time, by the influence of Monk's party in the house. The junto at Dublin being very desirous to remove me from the post where I was, called a council of officers; and having drawn up a letter to justify their proceedings against me, they procured it to be signed, and sent to me from the council, endeavouring therein to defame me with all possible malice; charging me with neglecting the duty of my employment in Ireland, when, upon the late interruption of the parliament, I had rather chosen to continue my journey to London, than to return to the discharge of my office; accusing me for divers passages in my

letters which they had intercepted. In one of which, having called Col. John Jones *dear friend*, they would have it interpreted, that I thereby approved his correspondence with the Wallingford-house party : and, in another, having expressed my desire to moderate things between the parliament and the army, they improved it to a very great crime, alledging, that men ought to obey, and not to capitulate with the parliament ; adding, that when I saw I could do no more in opposition to the parliament, I had refused to wait their sitting, and departed for Ireland a day or two before their restitution, where I had endeavoured to serve the army by my interest in the disaffected party ; that finding Dublin to be secured for the parliament by those who obeyed their orders, and would obey me as their Commander in chief if the parliament thought fit to continue that power to me, I had not only refused to return to England till their pleasure in that affair might be known, but also had endeavoured, by all hostile means, to get the power into my hands ; at the same time neglecting my duty in parliament, which they said I might have been doing, had not my miscarriages rendered me incapable of that honour. Having perused this letter, I thought myself obliged to answer it, as well to clear myself from these calumnies, as to prevent the effect it might otherwise have amongst unwary men ; which was especially to be regarded in this conjuncture, because they had taken care to print and disperse their libel against me. I told them in my answer, that they well knew, That, in my letters to Col. Jones, which they had intercepted, I had expressed my dislike of his correspondence with the army ; though, having received civilities

ties from him, and because he had his sword in his hand, I thought it not imprudent to keep fair with him; which was probably the reason why they themselves were not more plainly dealt with by the parliament: that, notwithstanding their pretences of obedience to the parliament, I wished I might not see the day when they should positively refuse to obey their commands, to the destruction of their authority, and the advancement of a contrary interest; though, to serve the present turn, they now blamed me for endeavouring, in the midst of the confusion that the ambition of the army had brought upon us, to moderate things so, that their authority might have been restored, and the public cause preserved from ruin: that the reasons of my not returning to my command upon advice of the late interruption, were, first, Because I knew it to be the interest of the parliament and the army to unite, both being in a certain way to ruin if they did not; and that therefore I was encouraged to attempt it: and, in the next place, Because I had seen the letter which was sent from the officers at London to those in Ireland, wherein they had declared that they had only obstructed their sitting for a while. Thirdly, I hoped, at my departure, I had left the affairs of Ireland in good hands; and, at the worst, I was persuaded it must of necessity follow the fate of England. Lastly, I doubted not that, by fixing the Irish brigade, which was in England, to the interest of the parliament, I should contribute more to their service, than by the best regulation that could be made of the forces in Ireland. That the cause of my last return to Ireland was taken from the knowledge I had of the persons that had assumed the power into their hands,

and the duty that lay upon me to use the best of my endeavours to put a stop to those malignant designs, which I had reason to believe their principles would lead them to carry on: That they must pardon me, if I followed not their advice of returning to England, when I was in the bay of Dublin, having it not in my instructions to obey them; and being as fully satisfied of their intentions to make use of their power, under pretence of serving the parliament, to undermine and destroy their friends, as I was that my own endeavours were directed wholly to their service; and that it was my duty, as far as I could, to prosecute the ends of that commission with which they had intrusted me. Before I had sent away this letter, I received the astonishing news, that the parliament had sent to the officers at Dublin an acknowledgment of their service, in declaring for them. And, about a week after, the said officers sent a letter to be delivered to me, signed by William Lenthall, Speaker of the parliament, to desire me, by their order, to attend the parliament, with an account of the affairs of Ireland, that, upon consideration thereof, such a course might be taken as might secure the public interest there. Letters to the same effect were written, as I was informed, to Col. John Jones, Col. Thomlinson, and Mr. Miles Corbet, commissioners for the parliament in Ireland. By these letters I perceived, that the parliament was reduced to a dishonourable compliance with those who had got the ascendant over them; and therefore having received their commands to attend them, I resolved to do it as soon as I could; hoping, by the account I should give them, to awaken their care, and, if they were not wholly infatuated,

Infatuated, persuade them to make a timely provision against the dangers that so visibly threatened them with sudden destruction. The enemy thought I would have surrendered the fort of Duncannon into their hands; and to that end used many arguments to induce me to it. But I refused to hearken to that proposition; and acquainted them, that the letters I had received, rather implied the contrary; and that, if the parliament were as sensible as they ought to be of their interest, I doubted not that Duncannon might prove a good landing-place for an army from England, to reduce those in Ireland to their obedience. In the mean time I had caused two or three vessels to cast anchor under the command of the castle, resolving to make use of one of them for my transportation to England; and finding a Dutch bottom, commanded by a Frenchman, to be most convenient for my purpose, I agreed with the master of her for my voyage. Before I departed, Capt. Scot, Maj. Barrington, and some others of those that had blocked us up, desired to speak with me; which I agreed to: and, amongst other discourse that deserves not to be mentioned, many of them, and in particular Capt. Scot, though they had declared for the parliament, endeavoured to justify the attempt of Sir George Booth, reviling Sir Arthur Haslerig, and divers others who were members of the parliament. And being asked, whether they would fight against Charles Stuart, if he should appear at the head of an army? they refused to explain themselves in that particular. And yet these Gentlemen would be thought to be the only champions for the parliament. Capt. Scot accompanied me to the

water-side ; where taking leaving of Capt. Skinner the Governor, and the rest of the officers and soldiers of the garrison, I commanded the Governor, in his presence, not to surrender the fort to any person that should not be authorised to receive it by the parliament or me, wherein I doubted not he would have the assistance of the whole garrison ; which they unanimously promised. As soon as I was embarked, Capt. Skinner caused all their cannon to be fired, to testify their respects to me ; and the wind being very fair, we immediately set sail for England. The next morning we found ourselves in view of the isle of Lundy : and I would willingly have landed at Minehead ; but the seas went so high, that we were obliged to put in at Milford-comb ; where having provided horses for myself and company, we went to Barnstaple, and lay there that night. The day following we passed over Axmore, which was covered with snow ; and with much difficulty arrived that night at Laystock ; where I was informed, that Monk was come to London, and had brought the secluded members into the house : which report had preceded the action ; for it was not yet done. But we were assured from better intelligence, that the parliament, upon consideration of Sir Henry Vane's compliance with the army during the late interruption, had discharged him from being a member, and commanded him to retire from London ; and that having reproved Maj. Salloway for what he had done of the same nature, they had committed him to the Tower during the pleasure of the house. We were also informed, that they had granted time to Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, Col. Sydenham, the Lord Commissioner

Commissioner Whitlock, Mr. Cornelius Holland, and Mr. Strickland, to clear themselves touching their deportment in that affair. I was not a little disturbed at this news; conceiving that the removal of such eminent pillars of the house as some of these were, would put the whole fabric into apparent danger of ruin. But being always desirous to think well of their proceedings, I persuaded myself, that these measures were the result of the extraordinary zeal of some men, to vindicate the least appearance of any breach that might be supposed to have been made upon the privileges of the parliament. As I was seriously reflecting on these particulars, one of my servants brought me the paper of public intelligence; wherein I not only perceived the former relation to be confirmed, but also found, that the parliament had received a charge of high treason against me, Mr. Miles Corbet, Col. John Jones, and Col. Thomlinson; presented by Col. Bridges, Maj. Edward Warren, and Capt. Abel Warren, and subscribed by Sir Charles Coote; of which though I had heard some flying report whilst I was in Ireland, yet I could not suppose them so abandoned of all shame, as to pursue such a design: but they had learned, that to calumniate abundantly, was the way to get something to stick. And here I confess, if I had entered upon the public service on the account of my own private advantage, I should have been totally discouraged, and perhaps have made the best provision I could for my own safety; but being conscious to myself that I had acted upon better principles, I concluded that the parliament, who knew my innocence, would not fail to do me justice against my

my malicious enemies. Thereupon I used all possible diligence in my journey, taking post-horses to that end; insomuch that a person who knew me, meeting me on the road, said, that those who were under an accusation of high treason, were not accustomed to make such haste to present themselves. Being arrived at London, I went not that day to the parliament, being informed that the house was rising; and because I was desirous to learn as much as I could concerning the state of public affairs, to which I had been so long a stranger. The most remarkable transactions that had passed in my absence, were these following: That Lt-Gen. Fleetwood, finding himself deserted by most part of the army, had sent the keys of the parliament-house to the Speaker, with notice that the guards were withdrawn, and that the members of parliament might attend the discharge of their duty; that Lt-Col. Miller, who was in possession of the Tower, had sent also to the Speaker, to acquaint him, that he and his garrison were ready to receive his orders; that the forces about the town had been mustered in Lincoln's-Inn fields by Col. Alured and Col. Okey; where, after they had declared for the parliament, they marched by the Speaker's house in Chancery-lane, and saluted him as their General as he stood at his door; that the Speaker had sent Col. Brett and Col. Redmain, who had been discharged for their zeal to the usurpation of Cromwel, to command the Irish brigade; though it was well known that brigade was officered with such as were so zealous for the parliament, that they had refused to engage against Col. Monk, because he had declared for them, and had march-  
ed



and off entirely from the army of Col. Lambert ; that Sir Arthur Haslerig and the rest of the officers from Portsmouth coming into London by the bridge, had passed through the city, where they had been received with so much seeming joy and loud acclamations, that Sir Arthur was observed in particular to be so elevated, that for some time after he could scarce discern his friends from his enemies : whereof my wife had some experience ; for she going to give him some account of me and of affairs in Ireland, found him much altered in his carriage to her, saying, That God and man having owned them, they must employ those that would own them. To which she replied, That he seemed to mistake what she had said, and assured him that she was well informed, that as I had never solicited for public employment in better times, so I was very remote from any such thoughts in this condition of things. This height of Sir Arthur Haslerig lasted but a few days : for though the clergy and lawyers, with other disaffected persons, had hitherto kept fair with him, and, in appearance, revered him above all others, that by his assistance they might be able to prevail against the army, or Wallingford-house party ; yet so soon as they were free from their fears, and understood their own strength, they refused to be any longer controlled by him, turning out of the house and out of the army whomsoever they pleased : which false measures taken by him, he began to perceive when there was no remedy left. Fifteen hundred old officers were removed from their commands in the army by the committee appointed for that purpose, and as many brought in to supply their places, who were for the most part

part either unknown to the soldiers, disaffected to the cause, or ignorant of military affairs. The rules by which the committee for placing and displacing went by, were, as every man had been known to favour or oppose the army-party, without any consideration of the reasons that led them to the one or the other; which yet had been convenient, because many had carried it fair to the army, only that they might be the better enabled to make them sensible of their duty, and more easily prevail with them to return to the obedience of the parliament: and many had railed at and opposed the army, with no other design than thereby to necessitate both the parliament and the army by their disunion, and the confusions that would naturally ensue thereupon, to return to their former servitude.

In the mean time Monk, having left four regiments in Scotland to secure that country, and divided his forces into two brigades, one of which he commanded himself, and Col. Morgan the other, began his march for England on the 1st day of January; and on the 2d took his quarters at Wooller, where he received letters from the parliament. On the 5th he came to Morpeth; and found there some persons sent to him by the common council of London, with orders to desire him to use his interest to call a free parliament. The next day he entered Newcastle; and thence dispatched one Gumble, whom he had entertained as his chaplain, with letters to the parliament and council of state, wherein protestations of duty and fidelity were not wanting. Divers lawyers of the parliament, with some others, gave a meeting to Monk's messenger at the Speaker's house; and several citizens did

did the like at the house of one Mr. Robinson : at both which meetings Gumble was assured, that they and their parties would be favourable to Monk's design. Having in a few days dispatched the business he came about, he returned to his master, with an account of the success of his negotiation. He found him at Mansfield in Nottinghamshire ; and having acquainted him with the divisions at London, and with the inclinations of the city, Monk marched the next day to Nottingham ; where he staid ten days. In his march he removed many officers from their commands, placing in their room persons of ruined fortunes or profligate lives ; making no distinction between those that had continued in their obedience to the parliament, and those who had declared against them. In particular, he discharged from their employments divers officers of our Irish brigade who had been the most zealous for asserting the civil authority, and filled their places with such as had been dismissed for their vicious lives or corrupt principles. Wherein his deportment was so visible, that Col. Martin, in the parliament-house, resembled him to one, that, being sent for to make a suit of cloaths, brought with him a budget full of carpenters tools ; and being told that such things were not at all fit for the work he was desired to do, answered, " It matters not ; I will do your  
" work well enough, I warrant you." Yet for all this the pretences for a commonwealth went never more high than at this time : for, besides an injunction laid upon all commissioned officers to engage to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, the parliament appointed an oath, containing the abjuration of the family of the  
Stuarts,

Stuarts, to be taken by the members of the council of state, before they might act therein. But none were more forward to publish their resolutions of adhering to a commonwealth-government than Monk himself; who, in a letter to some of his own countrymen of the western parts, that had addressed him for the restitution of the secluded members, told them, That he could not do it; because it was not only contrary to his own frequent declarations, but directly opposite to the interest of a commonwealth, as well as to that of the army; a thing not to be done by him, or borne by them, being a total reversing of all that had been done for the last twelve years in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and tending to charge the nation with all the blood that had been shed during that time. He said it would unsettle the possession of deans, chapters, delinquents, crown and rebels lands; and, in fine, if we should suffer monarchy to return amongst us, after so long a fruition of a commonwealth, we should be driven to a worse condition than ever, and put past all hopes of appearing to defend our liberty any more. He advised them therefore to acquiesce in the authority of the present parliament; who, he assured them, were most ready to hearken to all reasonable propositions touching the good and happy settlement of the nation. And that this answer might be taken notice of by all men, he caused it to be printed and published.

The parliament being willing to encourage him in the good resolutions he professed to have taken, sent Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Luke Robinson, members of the house, to be commissioners from them to him. Mr. Scot had kept a  
long

long correspondence with him; and, after the last interruption, had published some of his letters, wherein Monk declared his resolution to live and die with the parliament, without a King, single person, or house of Lords. These two persons were in appearance much courted by Monk, who pretended to be wholly directed by their advice. And when the commissioners for the city of London, or the Gentry of those parts where he passed, applied themselves to him for the restitution of the secluded members, he referred them to the judgment of the parliament; to whom, he said, he was resolved entirely to submit. He also solicited Sir Arthur Haslerig, and some others of the house, that the Sectarian party might be removed out of the army; sending a list of the names of all those who had been continued in their employments by the army during the late interruption; and pretending that a commonwealth could not possibly be established whilst such men were in power. What he did relating to the affairs of Ireland, was carried more covertly, and coloured with the name of Sir Charles Coote. And because he knew I had some reputation with Sir Arthur Haslerig, and the commonwealth-party of the house, he made use of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Mr. Weaver, Mr. Justice St. John's, Mr. Robert Reynolds, and some others, to obtain what he desired in that matter. These Gentlemen were informed, that the council of state, notwithstanding all the arts that had been used to calumniate me, had agreed upon a report to be made to the parliament, that Sir Hardress Waller, Lt-Col. Walker, and Maj. Godfrey, might be intrusted, in conjunction with me, with the ma-

Vol. II. E e nagement

nagement of affairs in Ireland. They knew also, that the two last would be ready to do any honest thing that I should advise: and therefore, fearing lest the parliament might agree with the council of state upon the report, they procured the debate to be adjourned for three days; within which time they so ordered the matter, that Col. Bridges and the two Warrens presented to the parliament the charge of high treason against the commissioners and me, as I mentioned before. Whereof Monk's party in the house made such advantage, as not only to refuse their concurrence with the council of state in their report concerning me, but also, by the help of the lawyers rhetoric, who were my professed adversaries, on account of my endeavours to reform the practice of the law, passed a vote to require me to deliver the fort of Duncannon, into the hands of the prosecutors; some of them moving, that in case of refusal, I should be declared a traitor, and sent for in custody. Which perhaps might have passed also, if Mr. Henry Nevil, who singly had the courage to defend me in that conjuncture, had not spoken in my behalf; desiring them not to entertain a jealousy of a faithful servant, upon informations unproved, nor to do any thing to the prejudice of my reputation, till I should be heard; when, he doubted not, I would make appear, that I had always endeavoured to promote their service. But I was not the only person borne down by this torrent. Sir Arthur Haslerig himself, having parted with Sir Henry Vane and Maj. Salloway, his most able and best friends, began to lose ground, and all that he said in the house or elsewhere, to go for nothing. And though they could

could find out no colour to remove him, as they had done the other two; yet having already rendered him insignificant in the parliament, they resolved he should have as little power in the army. To that end, it was contrived that Monk should write to the parliament, that, for their greater security, the forces that were in and about London, amounting to about 7 or 8000 horse and foot, might be removed to a farther distance, to make room for those that he had with him, presuming to name to the parliament some particular regiments which he principally insisted to have removed; amongst which Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of horse was one. And so tame was the parliament grown, that though it was most visible he designed their ruin; yet, on his bare word, and empty protestations, they not only trusted him, but obeyed him as their superior, and ordered all that he desired to be put in execution. Notwithstanding this unhappy posture of affairs, thinking it my duty to clear myself of the aspersions cast upon me, and to improve the small interest I had left, for the service of the public cause, I resolved to take my place in parliament; and, in order thereunto, being accompanied by Mr. Henry Nevil, I attended Sir Arthur Haslerig at Whitehall; where I gave him a short account of my actions since I had last seen him, of my endeavours in Ireland to serve the public, of the state of affairs there, of the principles and practices of those that had assumed the power in that country, and of the readiness of the soldiers and most of the officers in that army to have served the parliament faithfully and usefully, if they had been true to themselves and their own interest. I also ac-

E c 2

quainted

quainted him with the sense I had of the late severe, if I might not say unjust, proceedings against me; which seemed to me to be such a requital of my faithful services, that, if I expected my reward from men, I should rather chuse to serve the Great Turk. But that I might not be wanting to myself, and in order to justify my own innocence, if I could do no farther good, I had resolved to go to the parliament-house the next morning; desiring his advice, and that of Mr. Nevil, for my government when I should come thither. Sir Arthur was unwilling to enter into any discourse concerning what had lately passed, saying it was too late to recal things now; and then told us how his enemies thought to insnare him, by Monk's motion to the parliament for removing his regiment from London, thinking thereby to create a difference between him and Monk; wherein he had disappointed them, by desiring their removal himself, contrary to their expectation; entering into a prolix commendation of Monk, and assuring us that he was a person on whose fidelity they might safely rely. And, if I may be permitted to deliver my sense touching this discourse of Sir Arthur Haslerig, I conjecture it proceeded partly from an apprehension that things were already gone so far, that he doubted whether he could put any stop to them; and partly from some sparks of hope, that Monk could not be such a devil to betray a trust so freely reposed in him. For he kept a constant correspondence with Sir Arthur; and in all his letters repeated the engagements of his fidelity to the parliament, with expressions of the greatest zeal for a commonwealth-government. In the  
conclusion,



conclusion, it was agreed between us, that, when I came into the house, I should sit as privately as I could, and observe the temper of the members, before I should put them upon the consideration of my affair. Accordingly I went to the house; and though they had used me in the manner I have related; yet they treated me very civilly, some of them telling me in a jesting way, that it was not usual for men accused of high treason to be so well received in that place. Having taken out a copy of the charge exhibited against the commissioners and me, I found the commissioners to be charged with altering their title during the late interruption, from *commissioners of parliament*, to *commissioners of the commonwealth*; and that they had sent a ship of war to prevent any relief to, or correspondence with the garrison of Ayr in Scotland, who had declared for the parliament. Besides which, Col. John Jones was accused for taking part with the army against the parliament, not only in the particulars aforesaid; but also in his answer to the letter written by Monk to me, on supposition that I was then in Ireland, to invite me to a conjunction with him for the restitution of the parliament; and likewise for promoting a subscription to the government of the army amongst the officers in Ireland. As for me, I was charged with assisting the army in England, and doing acts of hostility by sea and land against those in Ireland who had declared for the parliament. Whereupon I moved the house, that they would be pleased, according to their order, to hear me touching their affairs in Ireland, and to permit me to justify myself; which I did the rather; that I might have an opportunity to

procure that mischievous order for the surrender of Duricannon to be recalled, hoping that it had not yet been put in execution. But all that I could obtain, was, to have a day appointed when I should be heard. Mr. Miles Corbet, who arrived in England some days before me, was so terrified with the proceedings of the parliament against Sir Henry Vane and Maj. Salloway, together with the name of a charge of high treason against himself, that he had never appeared publicly since his arrival, till, upon some discourse with me, he took courage, and went with me to the house.

In the mean time Monk was come to Barnet. And, being expected at London the next day, orders were issued out for the old regiments of the army to march from the town; which so disgusted them, that many refused to march till their arrears were paid. This mutiny began at Somerset-house, where one whole regiment was quartered, who were joined by divers parties of the rest. The Cavaliers and Presbyterians of the city, hoping to improve this opportunity, invited them to join with the city, as they termed their party there; promising them their whole arrears, constant pay, and a present gratuity; giving them some money in hand, as an earnest of the rest. The soldiers took their money; but withal threatened them, that unless they departed immediately, they would fire upon them, declaring their resolution to continue faithful to the parliament. Hereupon the council of state, that they also might cut the grass from under their own feet, sent orders to Monk to hasten his march, and with all diligence to come to their relief. These malecontents were very numerous,

merous, amounting to more than 2000 foot; and about the same number of horse were ready to join with them. But no considerable person appearing at the head of them, their new officers, who laboured the whole night to satisfy them, prevailed with them to march the next morning, upon promise that their arrears should be paid at the next quarters. The following day Monk marched to London in the head of his party; which for the most part were quartered about Whitehall, where lodgings had been provided for him. And immediately some members of parliament were sent to congratulate his arrival. The same evening I met Vice-Adm. Lawson at Sir Henry Mildmay's lodgings at Whitehall; and knowing him to be familiarly acquainted with Monk, I desired that we might make him a visit together; which he readily consented to. We found him alone in the Prince's lodgings; where, having congratulated the success of his attempt to restore the parliament to the exercise of their authority, I took the freedom to tell him, that having an opportunity put into his hands to free these nations from the danger of being oppressed, as they had lately been, by the power of the sword, I hoped he would improve it to the public advantage; by giving his assistance to the parliament in settling the government upon so just a foundation, that it might be supported for the future by the love and affections of the people. He answered, That as God had owned him in his work, so he desired that he alone might have the glory; that it was true factions had been carried on, but that he was fully resolved to promote the interest of a commonwealth. Which resolution

when

when I had commended, and encouraged him as well as I could to continue, he said, "We must live and die for and with a commonwealth." Then I told him, that I had met lately with one Mr. Courtney; who said he was his relation, and having drunk too much at the inn where I lay in my way to London, boasted that his cousin Monk would do great things for the King; but that, upon my objecting his public declarations and protestations to the contrary, he began to doubt, and said, that, his cousin being a man of honour, he feared he would be as good as his word. "Yea, (said Monk), if there were no thing in it but that, I must make good my word, and will too." I presume, said I, that the answer you have lately published to your countrymen's letter, hath given them all satisfaction concerning you. He replied, That he hoped it had. These and many other protestations of zeal to the common cause, with many professions of friendship to ourselves, we received from him at that time: wherewith Vice-Adm. Lawson was so satisfied, that he said to me, after we had parted from him, that, since the Levite and the Priest had passed by and would not help us, he hoped we had found a Samaritan that would do it.

The parliament having notice of Monk's arrival, sent a message to him by Mr. Scot and Mr. Robinson, to desire his attendance at their house the next day. Whither being come, a chair was ordered for him: but he refused to sit; contenting himself to stand behind it uncovered, laying his hand upon the chair. The Speaker, as he had been ordered, gave him the thanks of the house for the service he had done, extolling him

him above all the worthies of former and later ages. To whose rhetoric he answered, That, as to what was done, he desired God might have the glory, in that he had wrought deliverance by so weak an instrument. After which he informed the house, that in his march many applications had been made to him by all sorts of persons for a free parliament; and that he had acquainted them, that the end of his march being to free the parliament from the power of those who had imposed on them, he doubted not they would take all possible care of the public good. Then he put them in mind of their resolution to fill up the house; which he said would tend much to the satisfaction of the nation. He desired, that *Fanatical persons*, as he called them, might be removed from places of trust; and undertook to answer for the fidelity of those who had assumed the power in Ireland; concluding with professions of the utmost zeal and faithfulness to their service. Thus he gave the parliament good words; for which they heaped their favours upon him: they voted 1000 l. *per annum* to be settled on him. And, that nothing might be wanting to complete this scene, Monk's wife took especial care to treat the wives of the members that came to visit her; running herself to fetch the sweetmeats, and filling out wine for them; not forgetting to talk mightily of self-denial, and how much it was upon her husband's heart, that the government might be settled in the way of a commonwealth.

In the mean time, the secluded members had their meetings with those of the same faction in the city. And some of those that sat in parliament, were earnest promoters of their return to the

the house; of whom were Col. Lascelles and Col. Richard Ingoldiby, who had been two of the King's judges. But the person I most wondered at, was Col. Hutchinson, who having exceeded most of the members of the high court of justice in zeal for putting the King to death, at this time acted a very different part; pressing the house with an unbecoming importunity, to proceed against Sir Henry Vane, for not removing into the country according to their order; when it was well known he was so much indisposed, that he could not do it without the apparent hazard of his life. Many alarms were given to the parliament by their faithful friends, in printed discourses, and otherwise; whereby they were put in mind, that the enemy's quarrel was not so much against persons as things; and, as one termed it, not against Ludlow and Rich, but against the cause itself. They were advised to accept the assistance of their old servants, and to encourage them in their fidelity, as the only means to preserve themselves and the commonwealth from certain ruin. But they were deaf to all salutary counsel, and resolved to finish the work with the new instruments which they had chosen. To that end, they proceeded on the bill for filling up the house; which by wise men was thought a most dangerous expedient in that conjuncture, unless Monk should prove more honest than they could believe him to be. The city of London also took upon them in their common council to receive petitions from the adjacent counties touching the payment of taxes, and other public affairs; presuming not only to call in the petitioners, and to give them thanks for their good affections; but also passed a vote, that they

they would pay no taxes, but such as should be imposed by a free parliament.

The council of state having received a particular account of the proceedings in the city, sent for Monk, to consult with him concerning the best means to put a stop to these disorders. And some of them moving, that the common council should be forbidden to sit, some few of the most active seized, the gates of the city taken down, the portcullices wedged, and the posts with their chains pulled up; Monk said, that if they did no more, that would serve for nothing, because the damage might be soon repaired. He added, that the disaffection of the city was so great, that they would never be quiet, till some of them were hanged; and that it was absolutely necessary for the present to break in pieces their gates and portcullices, to burn their posts, and to carry away their chains to the Tower; offering himself, if they would command these things to be done, to see their orders put in execution. Hereupon the council ordered him to march into the city with his forces early the next morning, before the occasion of his coming amongst them should be known. Various reports were published touching the design of his march into the city, and many suspected that he had already declared for the King. But when the house was met, the council of state made their report to us, and informed us of the unwarrantable proceedings of the common council, and of their own resolutions and orders concerning them; in the execution of which they assured us Monk had by that time made a considerable progress, having already pulled up the posts with their chains, taken down

down the portcullices and the gates of the city, which he had begun to cut in pieces, and seized some of the most active of the common council. The parliament having heard the report of the council of state, approved what they had done; and ordered 50 l. to be given to Monk to defray the expence of his dinner that day, he having refused to dine at the charge of the city, though earnestly importuned to it by divers citizens. All things going so well that morning, both in the army, and in the parliament, Sir Arthur Haslerig was again so elevated, that coming into the house in the afternoon, he broke out, in the presence of divers members, into these expressions, *All is our own, he will be honest.* But it was not long before his wine was turned into water: for, as soon as the house was sat, a letter was presented to the Speaker from Monk, the contents whereof made them easily perceive that his zeal to their service began to cool. Therein he acquainted them with what he had done in prosecution of the orders he had received, and that he wanted tools and instruments to finish the work, having already spoiled all those that he had brought with him to cut the gates and other defences of the city in pieces; that the Mayor and citizens had promised obedience to the parliament for the time to come: and therefore he desired they would respite the execution of what remained of his instructions; hoping, that what had been done would be a sufficient admonition to the city for their future good behaviour. The parliament understanding the tendency of this letter, were highly offended with Monk for presuming to neglect and dispute their commands: and being resolved to do as much.



as they could in this matter to preserve their authority, they dispatched a message to him, requiring the exact performance of the orders he had received. Upon the receipt of these second orders, Monk seemed much disturbed; but yielded little or no obedience to them, and lay that night in the city. The day following he returned with his forces to Whitehall; and about two days after sent a letter to the house, directed to the Speaker, and subscribed by himself and some of his officers; wherein they complained, that the parliament had put them upon the late disobliging work in the city, to render them odious to the citizens; that they continued to favour the Fanatic party, by not prosecuting those that had acted with the army in the late committee of safety, and by permitting Sir Henry Vane and Col. Lambert to stay in town, contrary to their own order for their removal; that they admitted men to sit with them in the house who lay under accusations of high treason, (meaning Mr. Miles Corbet and me, though not naming us); that, on the contrary, they shewed a backwardness to repose any confidence in those who were their truest friends; upbraiding them with refusing to approve some officers that had been presented to them, and delaying to grant commissions to others whom they had approved. They also reflected upon the parliament, for not making provision for the army, nor minding the public work; putting them in mind of the vote for their dissolution in May following; and adding some threatening expressions, in case they should not issue out writs for filling up the parliament, according to their promise. After the reading of this letter from Monk, I

perceived most of the members who had any affection to their country, to be much dejected. But the parliament having divested themselves of their own strength, and abandoned all into the hands of Monk, though no man had ever before presumed to address himself to them in so insolent a manner, yet they took his letter into consideration, and resolved to give him as much satisfaction as they could with any colour of justice. To that end, they quickened their committee to bring in their report touching those that had acted in the late committee of safety. They ordered Sir Henry Vane to depart the town by a certain day, and that Col. Lambert should render himself within a limited time. They also resolved to issue out writs of summons for recruiting the house; but being fully persuaded that the charge of high treason against me was groundless and frivolous, they omitted to make any order concerning it. However, being desirous to procure some relief for those whom I had left at Duncannon, and to endeavour that the forces in Ireland might be put into good hands, I hoped, that if I should move to be heard, I might at the same time have an opportunity to press the two last things, which I esteemed very necessary in that conjuncture; I desired therefore, that since I conceived myself aimed at in one part of Monk's letter, the parliament would be pleased to hear me in vindication of my innocence. But I could not obtain a present hearing; my case being put off till a farther time, and then delayed from day to day, till the dissipation of those who should have been my judges.

Sir Henry Vane, according to the late order,  
was

was preparing to leave the town ; of which having notice, I went to make him a visit at his house ; where he told me, that, unless he were much mistaken, Monk had yet several masks to pull off ; assuring me, for what concerned himself, that he had all possible satisfaction of mind as to those actions God had enabled him to do for the commonwealth, and hoped the same God would fortify him in his sufferings, how sharp soever, to bear a faithful and constant testimony thereto. Monk having alarmed the parliament by the foresaid letter, and either not daring to trust himself at Whitehall, or thinking London a fitter place to pursue his design in, he retired with his forces into the city ; where he mustered his men, and was splendidly entertained at dinner by the Mayor and others. Hereupon the parliament, who endeavoured by all means to give him satisfaction, sent Mr. Thomas Scot and Mr. Luke Robinson, who had been their commissioners to him, as I mentioned before, to assure him of their good intentions towards him. But he having now fortified himself by the conjunction of the city, began to treat them in a manner much different from his former carriage, not admitting them without difficulty to his presence : and when he condescended to speak to them, his discourse tended always to the same purpose with his letter, aspersing the proceedings of the parliament ; and, amongst other things, reproaching them with their favour to me, as Mr. Scot afterwards informed me ; insomuch that he who had so lately undertaken to the parliament for Monk's integrity and fidelity to their service, began to lose all hopes of him. Yet for all his insolent carriage to the

F f 2

parliament

parliament and their commissioners, his party in the house had the confidence to move, that he might be made General of their forces, the time limited by act of parliament for commissionating him with others to command the army in England and Scotland being almost expired. Many arguments were used to that end, though those which were most pressed were taken from the consideration of the present posture of their affairs. But the parliament still retaining some sparks of that courage with which they had been formerly animated, and having found by sad experience what miseries they had brought upon the nation and themselves by trusting Cromwel and others too far, chose rather to perish by the hands of an enemy, if Monk should resolve to be so, than by the delusions of a pretended friend: and therefore having rejected the proposition to make him General, they passed a vote, that their armies in England and Scotland should be governed by commissioners, the number of them to be five, and any three of them to make a quorum. But that they might avoid as much as possible to give him the least just cause of discontent, they first agreed, that he should be one of the said commissioners. Then they proceeded to the nomination of the rest; and chose Sir Arthur Haslerig, though he earnestly pressed them to excuse him, Col. Morley, and Col. Walton. These four being elected, it was visible that the balance of the commission would be in the fifth man that should be chosen; Monk having in a manner declared himself our enemy, and Col. Morley being sufficiently known to be of a temporising spirit. Hereupon Monk's party in the house moved, that Sir Anthony Ashley

ley Cooper might be the fifth commissioner; and, on the other side, the commonwealth-party had resolved to use their endeavours for Maj.-Gen. Overton. But, upon consideration of the differences that had been between him and Monk, whereby they feared he would not pass, they laid aside that resolution, and agreed to put up Col. Alured. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper being first named, was first put to the question, and by the majority of votes excluded. Col. Alured being next proposed, the question was carried for him, to the great satisfaction of the commonwealth-party. Whereupon sitting by Col. Martin in the house, and being persuaded of the integrity of the major part of these commissioners, I desired him to move, that the command of the forces in Ireland might be inserted in this commission; which, upon his motion, was ordered accordingly; and the act being but short, was read thrice, and passed before the rising of the house: and this I did, because I found no other probable way open to force the power in Ireland out of the hands of those that had usurped it. Though these proceedings did not a little disturb Monk, yet he endeavoured to disguise his dissatisfaction, and began again to court the members of parliament more than before; whilst, with the advice and assistance of his party in the city, he was forming a militia there, and nominating officers to command them, who were chosen for that purpose, rather on account of their disaffection to the parliament, than any other good quality to be found about them. Having received advice of these transactions, I acquainted Sir Arthur Haslerig with my information, and desired him to think of some

F f 3

speedy

speedy remedy; proposing that he would cause our scattered forces to rendezvous forthwith. But Sir Arthur was so deluded by the hypocrisy of Monk, that he assured me he had given him all the satisfaction, both by words and letters, that a man could give touching his integrity to the parliament; shewing me, and divers other members of parliament, two letters which he had lately received from him, wherein were many expressions of his zeal for the establishment of a commonwealth, with earnest desires that there might be no difference between them touching the way, seeing they were both entirely agreed in the same end.

Monk had taken up his quarters in the city, at the house of one Col. Wall; where I resolved to make him a visit, in order either to take him off from that prejudice, which by a clause in his letter to the parliament he seemed to have against me, or to make a more perfect discovery of his intentions; supposing, that, being a member of parliament, he durst not attempt to seize my person, or, if he did, that such an open violation of the privileges of parliament would awaken them to provide for their own safety. I found the house where he lodged as full of soldiers as it could well be, and passed through several guards before I came to the chamber where he received his visits. He was, at the time of my coming, in a private gallery, conferring with Mr. Edmund Calamy and others of the clergy. When he had taken leave of them, I was admitted; and at first perceived him to be very shy of me: but after I had acquainted him, that the cause of my visit was in order to undeceive him, and to remove, if possible, the prejudices he seemed

seemed to have against me, he suddenly changed his countenance, and treated me with great familiarity. Whereupon I told him, that having always endeavoured to assert the authority of the civil magistrate, in opposition to the tyranny of the sword, I was unwilling to have any difference with him, who had declared for the same things. I assured him, that I had publicly disapproved the answer of Col. Jones to that letter which he had sent to Ireland, directed to me, on supposition that I had then been in that country. I acquainted him with what I had done to preserve the Irish brigade from joining with the army-party, and how I had prevailed with them to engage to me under their hands not to fight against him, upon notice that he had espoused the cause of the parliament. I acknowledged, that I had displaced one of his relations in Ireland; not out of the least disrespect to him, but according to a rule which I conceived to be most just, that those might be restored to their offices in the army, who had been removed for their affection to the commonwealth; which was the case, his kinsman having been made Cornet of Major Dean's troop, and Cornet Whalley displaced for the reason before mentioned. Hereupon Monk said, that what I had done, was most just; and that he never took any thing ill from me, either upon that or any other particular account. I then desired to know what reason he might have for entertaining any hard thoughts of me. To which he replied, That he had nothing to object against me but my favour to the Fanatic party in Ireland. I told him, that the party he meant had not acted as if they had been of the same opinion; for having signed an  
address

address to the parliament, whereby they engaged to be true and faithful to the civil authority, and delivered it into my hands to be presented on their part, the same men, notwithstanding their public engagement, and particular promises to me, had, immediately after my departure, signed an agreement with the army, thereby rejecting the civil power, and consequently me, whom the parliament had intrusted to command their forces in Ireland; that as I had never thought the profession of religion to be alone sufficient to qualify men for employments, if they wanted affection to the commonwealth, so I could not imagine which way religion should incapacitate persons for the public service, who were not deficient in their fidelity and zeal for the common good. "Yea, (said he), we must live and die together for a commonwealth." I hearing him say so, told him, that I was informed he was much pressed to restore the secluded members; who being highly enraged, would not fail to bring all things into confusion, and possibly endeavour to bring in the King. "It may be (said he) that they will attempt it, but they say they will not; and I assure you, though I bear as much respect to parliaments as any man, yet if I should observe a parliament to be about such a thing, I would interrupt them therein." Having spent about half an hour with Monk, I took leave; and, as I went from him, I perceived one of his footmen to stand at the door of the room where we had discoursed, who I suppose was placed there by his master's order, to prevent me from dealing with him as his conscience told him he deserved. He accompanied me to the  
foot



foot of the stairs, and there parted with me, not without great shew of respect and civility. Notwithstanding which it was manifest to me, thro' all his disguises, by the persons he favoured and advanced, by the company he kept, and by the course he steered, that he was not bound to that harbour he pretended ; and could I have prevailed with the majority of the parliament to be of the same opinion, he should not have carried on his design so smoothly : but into such a desperate frenzy were we fallen, that many of the house, either through fear, or for what other reason I cannot tell, discovered themselves daily to be favourers of him ; who had by this time so far advanced his affairs, that he resolved to pull off another mask ; and to that end desired some sitting members of the house to give a meeting to some of the secluded members, in order, as he pretended, to give them satisfaction touching the justice of their exclusion ; wherein he owned himself to be thoroughly satisfied, affirming to Sir Arthur Haslerig and others, that he did this only to answer the vexatious importunity of the secluded members. By this means he prevailed with Sir Arthur and some others, to meet them at the time and place appointed ; where the secluded members, and especially Mr. Annesley, reflected so indecently upon the proceedings of the parliament since their exclusion, that Sir Arthur hastily rose up, and designed to leave the company. But Monk, in a drolling way, desired him to be patient till he should moderate Annesley ; which, he said, he knew well enough how to do. Upon this Sir Arthur Haslerig sat down again. But the other proceeding in the same manner, he lost all patience, and

and rising up, he departed from the conference. Mr. Scot, Mr. Robinson, Col. Morley, and Mr. Rawleigh, staid there till the discourse was ended. And so did the Chief Justice St. John's, who not discovering himself to be of either party, sat observing on which side the balance would fall, as if he had been still to chuse. If the parliament had not been wilfully blind, these things would have proved sufficient to open their eyes. But, to leave them without the least colour of excuse, it happened at this time, that advice was brought to them from Ireland, that those who had usurped the power there, for whose fidelity Monk had engaged, and who moved not a step without his orders and directions, had published a declaration against them. The contents of it were more insolent than those of the letter which Monk had sent to the parliament before he retired into the city: for after they had reproached them with the favours they extended to men accused of high treason, and the discouragements they laid upon those who had been sent to England to prosecute them, they openly told the parliament they could no longer own them for an authority; and therefore desired, that a free parliament might be called, to put end to the confusions which their miscarriages had brought upon the nation. It was matter of amazement, that such a declaration should be published by men that pretended to act by the authority of the parliament. But it was not procured without opposition: for when Sir Charles Coote and Col. Theophilus Jones, who were the principal confidents of Monk on that side, had prepared their paper, and a party to back it, Sir Hardress Waller, who had been one of the late King's judges,

judges, fearing the consequence of such practices, moved, that the council of war might be adjourned into the castle ; but, not being able to carry that point, he communicated his design to as many as he thought fit, and, making an excuse to go out of the room, he hastened away, and retired into the castle. Maj. Stanley, Lt-Col. Warren, and some others, went immediately and joined themselves to him ; and, amongst them, it was resolved to send out a party to seize Sir Charles Coote and his adherents. But he having notice of their intentions, had a party of his creatures ready ; and, being accompanied by Col. Theophilus Jones, mounted on horseback at the head of them, riding up and down the streets of Dublin, and declaring for a free parliament ; which language was by that time sufficiently understood to be for the King. They were followed by a great rabble of the people, and thereby so encouraged, that they formed a design against the castle ; and having posted their guards upon all the avenues, they sent a summons to Sir Hardress Waller to deliver the place into their hands. The Governor, in his answer to the summons, endeavoured to convince them of the injustice of their attempt ; reminding them of the declarations they had lately made to be true and faithful to the present parliament ; desiring them to consider how much it was their interest to adhere to them, since it was under their authority that they had acted for so many years past against the late King and his family ; and that their titles to the possession of the lands forfeited by the rebels were founded upon the same power. Having dispatched this answer to  
Sir

Sir Charles Coote, he clothed all the soldiers out of the stores, and distributed a sum of ready money amongst them, to secure their fidelity; with promises of a farther gratuity, if they would stand by him. But Sir Charles Coote found a way to treat with some of the garrison; and after two or three days, by large offers and advantageous terms, prevailed with them to deliver their Governor and the castle into his hands. By the expulsion of Sir Hardress Waller out of the army, two regiments fell into the hands of those that had seized the government in Ireland; for which Sir Charles Coote had some difficulty to find Colonels, having already disposed of two to himself, one to his brother Richard Coote, another to his brother Chudleigh Coote, a fifth to his brother Thomas Coote, and a sixth to his cousin St. George. Which unequal distribution was so resented by some of his own party, that Maj. Barrington moved at one of their councils of war, that a more equal hand might be kept in the disposal of employments. Whereupon Sir Charles Coote, after he had severely reprimanded the Major, discharged him from his command in the army. In the mean time Monk had desired the Mayor of London to assemble the common council, though the parliament had dissolved them; and, in defiance to their authority, attended on them at Guildhall, excusing himself for what he said he had been constrained to do in the city by order of the council of state; and assuring them, that he was much troubled for that rigorous work. He declared himself ready to expose his person to all dangers for their service; and that he had not forgot the kind letter they had sent him whilst he

he was yet in the north : that he was then of the same opinion with them, but was obliged at that time to conceal it, till he might have an opportunity to discover his sentiments with better advantage. He also acquainted them, that he had sent a letter to the parliament, that they would fill up the house, and put an end to their sitting by the sixth of May. By this means he gave such encouragement to the Cavalierish party, that the rabble of them, as he passed by from Guildhall, cried out for a free parliament ; and perceiving him not displeased with their insolence, they made bonfires in London and Westminster for roasting the rump, as they presumed to call that parliament ; who, in the five years time that they governed without interruption, had raised the glory of the nation from the dust wherein it had been buried by the negligence and corruption of the preceeding governments, and had rendered the English name formidable to all Europe. This riotous disorder, how pleasing soever it was to Monk, yet it could not be properly charged upon him, because he had given no public order for what had been done ; and therefore he continued to declare as loud as ever how faithful he would be to the commonwealth. And though Sir Arthur Hasle-  
rig was informed of the foregoing particulars, and many other things that seemed fully to discover Monk's design ; and though I earnestly importuned him to improve the little time that remained to prevent the threatened ruin, by a speedy reunion with our old friends, by adjourning the parliament to the Tower, and by drawing our dispersed forces together : yet he would not be persuaded to any thing of that nature, persisting still in his opinion that all would

be well, and that Monk would be honest. And that he might have no pretext to be otherwise, Sir Arthur doubting, by reason of the correspondence that continued between Monk and the secluded members, that, in case the writs for filling up the parliament should not be issued out by the time prefixed, he would take advantage of that failure to bring them into the house, laboured diligently with the parliament that it might be done to his satisfaction; and accordingly the bill was passed within the time limited. But the secluded members being grown confident of attaining their ends by another way, departed themselves at a much higher rate than they were accustomed to do; Maj. Harlow, who was one of them, taking the liberty to say openly in Westminster-hall, that they would have their footmen chosen to supply their places. Sir Gilbert Gerrard also brought an action against Col. Alured, for denying him admission to the house after the last restitution of the parliament: but the Colonel having acted by order of the parliament, they ordered the process to be stopped. Yet so low were the affairs of the parliament, and their authority so little regarded, even in Westminster-hall, that Sir Robert Pye, who had been committed to the Tower by their order, suing for his *Habeas corpus* at the Upper Bench, and Judge Newdigate demanding of the council for the commonwealth what they had to say why it should not be granted; the council answered, they had nothing to say against it. Whereupon the Judge, though no enemy to monarchy, yet ashamed to see them so unfaithful to their trust, replied, That if they had nothing to say, he had: for that Sir Robert Pye being

being committed by an order of the parliament, an inferior court could not discharge him.

The house having agreed to all things necessary for issuing out writs to elect members for filling up the parliament, ordered a warrant to be signed by the Speaker, whereby the commissioners of the seal should be authorised to send out writs according to custom. But he refused to do it; pretending, that if he should sign any warrant to that purpose, he might be sued at law by every individual person in whose room any other should be elected; and therefore desired, that the house would pass an act to enable their clerk to sign the warrant, or that the commissioners of the seal might issue out their writs of summons upon a general act to be passed to that end. It was answered, That the duty of his place obliged him to perform the commands of the house; that having received their order in that affair, he was thereby fully indemnified; and that he signed not the warrant in his personal, but in his politic capacity. But he would receive no satisfaction; persisting positively in his refusal, and submitting himself to their pleasure, if they should think fit to send him to the Tower, or to chuse another person to be Speaker in his place. Whereupon the house condescended to pass an act to empower the clerk to sign the warrant to the commissioners of the seal: though, for my own part, I was for taking the Speaker at his word, and placing another person in the chair; and instead of sending Mr. Lenthal to the Tower, to have adjourned ourselves thither: but I could prevail with few to be of my opinion. This business being thus passed, and my doubts increasing touching the

event of these things, I earnestly desired the house, that I might either be presently heard concerning the affairs of Ireland, and my own conduct there; or that a short day might be appointed when they would hear me without any farther delay: alledging, for the reason of my importunity, that though my enemies in that country had by their late actions manifested to all the world, that their enmity to the parliament was much greater than to me; yet, being uncertain what sort of men might soon have the principal influence in that house, I could not believe they would think it convenient that a charge of high treason, how frivolous soever, should be transmitted to them against one of their old and faithful servants. Mr. Thomas Scot thinking my discourse to reflect upon his son, who had commanded the forces before Duncannon, addressed himself to the Speaker, and said, That though he would not undertake to answer for all who had opposed me in Ireland, yet he might affirm, that one of them was their faithful servant. To which I replied, though contrary to the order of the house, all things there also beginning to fall into confusion, That I could not positively say who that one was that the Gentleman who spoke last meant; but should suppose he intended his son; whom I assured them they could not think to be such a person as he had represented him, unless they esteemed the insurrection of Sir George Booth to have been for their service, he having attempted to justify the lawfulness of it in my presence. Upon this dispute, the Speaker presuming he should be well seconded, ventured to discover his malice also against me, reminding the house of an order  
they



they had made for the surrender of Duncannon ; to which he said, he knew not that any obedience had been yielded ; and therefore thought it necessary the house should be assured of that, before any order were made upon my motion. In this disorder and confusion the house rose about six in the evening. The council of state sat late that night, and received advice, that the secluded members designed to force themselves into the house the next morning. Thereupon they sent a message to Monk, to acquaint him with the information they had, and required him to prevent it if it should be attempted. He returned for an answer to the council, That he was well assured no such thing was designed ; but for their satisfaction, and to hinder it if endeavoured, he would not fail to double the guards that were to attend the parliament. But for all this the secluded members, attended by divers of Monk's officers, went early the next morning to Westminster ; and were admitted into the house by the guard he had placed there, who were more ready to defend than oppose them. And Monk having thus violated his promises, and abused the trust reposed in him by the public, took up his quarters again at Whitehall the same morning. Being informed of these transactions, I resolved for my own part to give no countenance to the secluded members, by sitting with them, who had no right to any place in parliament, having been expelled the house by more than a quorum of lawful members. But that notice might be taken that I had not withdrawn myself from the service of the public, nor was at the head of any forces, as was given out, I thought convenient to pass sometimes through Westminster-hall :

ster-hall : where Mr. George Montague, who knew I declined to come to the house, meeting me, and asking me the reason of it, I answered, That having done as much as I could to serve the commonwealth, and seeing an impossibility of contending against the present torrent, I had resolved to absent myself from the place where the parliament used to meet, that I might publicly disown the authority of those who had violently possessed themselves of the house, and not seem to consent to the confusions they were bringing upon us. He replied, That, in his opinion, the conditions upon which the secluded members had entered the house, were more dishonourable than those upon which others were gone out ; and that he was not willing to sit among them ; they having engaged to make Monk General of all the forces by sea and land, to settle a constant maintenance for the army, to appoint a new parliament to be chosen, and when these things were dispatched, to put a period to themselves within a day or two at the most. Yet some of the lawful members of parliament, either through fear or curiosity, or some other motive not known to me, went into the house, and sat amongst them. Another part of them, being about seventeen in number, whereof divers were of the council of state, went to Monk to be informed from his own mouth of the reasons of these proceedings. He received them with no less civility than formerly ; and having understood from them the occasion of their coming, he made as solemn protestations of his zeal to a commonwealth-government as he had ever done ; desiring them to believe, that the permission he had given to the secluded  
members

members to enter the house, was only to free himself from their importunity, and that he would take effectual care to prevent them from doing any hurt in that place. But these Gentlemen having resolved to try him to the utmost, demanded farther, if he would join with them against Charles Stuart and his party. In answer to which, he applied himself to Sir Arthur Haslerig, who was one of them, and said, "Sir Arthur, I have often declared to you my resolution so to do." Then taking off his glove, and putting his hand within Sir Arthur's, he added, "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these Gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of Peers." After this he began to expostulate with them touching their suspicions; saying, "What is it that I have done in bringing these members into the house? Are they not the same that brought the King to the block? though others cut off his head, and that justly."

The secluded members, having forced themselves into the house, took upon them the authority of a parliament, making votes and enacting laws as they pleased; which power they had hitherto constantly denied to be in a house of Commons alone. But we must believe the case to have been much altered upon their return; and that a house of Commons alone, without a King or house of Peers, might do any thing for betraying the public cause, though it could not have any colour of authority to justify them in doing the least thing for the security of it. In pursuance of these principles, they passed an act to make Monk General of all the forces belonging

ing to the parliament, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, both by sea and land; only they joined Col. Montague with him in the office of Admiral; which though Monk resented as a violation of the treaty he had made with the secluded members, yet he thought not convenient to insist upon the alteration of that particular. They continued the customs and excise, and laid other taxes on the people; borrowing great sums of the city of London on the credit of their acts. Monk took away Col. Walton's regiment of horse, and gave it to Col. — Howard; and having made choice of 200 horse for his own guard, he appointed Col. Philip Howard to command them. He disposed of Col. Rich's regiment to Col. Ingoldsby. But before the order could be put in execution, Col. Rich hoping he might prevail with his men, as he had done formerly, to declare for the lawful authority, he went down to the quarters where they lay. At his arrival most of them promised to remain faithful to him. But when Col. Ingoldsby came down, partly by his own interest among them, they having been under his command in the time of Cromwel, and partly by the torrent of the usurped authority, which then ran that way, he prevailed with the greatest part of them to desert their Colonel; who finding himself abandoned by most of them, yielded the rest to him, and declared his resolution to acquiesce. Capt. Walcot, who had been an officer in my regiment, and by me preferred to be Captain of a troop of horse when I sent our brigade into England, having gained an interest in the officers and soldiers by his good conduct, and supposing to find amongst them the same affection to the  
good

good old cause they had always manifested since their arrival in England, went towards Chester, where they were quartered: and being arrived within twelve miles of that place, he sent a letter to Maj. Woodward, of whose fidelity to the parliament he thought himself sure, to acquaint him with his resolution of going to them. But so great a change had the late turn wrought in mens minds, that the Major gave Capt. Walcot's letter to Col. Redman, who by Monk's order then commanded our Irish brigade, and who immediately dispatched a party of horse to seize the Captain: which having done in obedience to the order they had received, rather than from any inclination to such an employment, they gave him an opportunity to make his escape. Capt. Walcot coming afterwards to London, went to Monk; and having delivered his opinion freely touching the public affairs, and the usage he had lately met with, Monk fell into a violent passion against him: but soon recollecting himself, he treated him in a more civil manner, and gave him a passport to return into Ireland, where his family and estate lay; supposing thereby to render him less able to assist his enemies, than if he should continue in England.

The secluded members having forbidden the council to sit, chose one to supply their place; which was composed of Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Mr. Crew, Mr. Swinfen, Sir William Lewis, Sir William Waller, Col. John Birch, Col. George Monk, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Col. Norton, Mr. Knightley, Col. Herbert Morley, Sir Harbottle Grimestone, Mr. Arthur Annesley, Sir Richard Onslow, Chief Justice St. John's, Serjeant Brown, Col. Brown, &c.

This

This new council was vested with large powers, of imprisoning such as they suspected, and doing other things suitable to the designs then on foot. Sir Hardress Waller obtained of them, by means of his kinsman Sir William Waller, a permission to come over to England, and to be brought before them; where having subscribed an engagement to acquiesce, and to appear upon summons, he was discharged from custody. But Sir Charles Coote, who was well acquainted with the bottom of Monk's design, and conscious to himself how much he had exasperated the King's friends in Ireland, by his constant opposition to them, having added to all the rest the execution of one Stuart, that was related to the Royal family, thought he could never do things horrid enough to those of his own party, in order to reconcile himself to the other. Therefore, that he might give them what assurances he could that he was wicked enough to be employed and trusted by them, he sent a party of horse, and seized the Chief Justice Coke, to make some amends to his Sacred Majesty by that sacrifice.

The grand design of destroying the commonwealth being so far advanced, Monk caused a declaration to be drawn in the name of the officers about London, and recommended to the rest of the officers in the three nations, declaring it to be their duty and resolution to submit to the authority that was over them, and to obey such orders as they should receive from them. Which when they were upbraided with, as a thing contrived to betray the public cause, many of the officers shewed themselves so sensible of the consequences of it, that they earnestly pressed that

a council of war might be called; making use of some reasons to persuade their General to it, but indeed to unite themselves to each other, and in a public manner to express their resolutions to lay down their lives for the commonwealth. But Monk being informed of their design, dispersed them to their respective commands; to which they tamely submitted, notwithstanding the big words they had spoken without doors. Hereupon the secluded members suspecting Sir Arthur Haslerig to have had a principal hand in raising this spirit in the officers of the army, sent to him to take his place in the house where the parliament ought to sit, which to that time he had not done. Sir Arthur finding it impossible to resist the stream, being accompanied with divers members, went in to them; where, as I have been informed by some that were then present, he did not behave himself with that courage and resolution that usually attended him; but pleaded in his excuse the reverence he always had for the authority of parliaments, and endeavoured to justify himself touching any violations that had been made against it; assuring them of his intention to acquiesce under the present power. Maj.-Gen. Lambert also, who had hitherto concealed himself in hopes of finding an opportunity to appear at the head of some party, and thereby to prevent the design of Monk, finding that the army had for the most part submitted to the authority of the secluded members, surrendered himself to the new council of state, in hopes of better terms from them than he could have promised himself from the former, who he thought would have been more likely to resent the force he had put upon the parliament. But they,

they, contrary to his expectations, requiring him to give security for his quiet deportment, upon his refusal so to do, committed him to the Tower.

Most of the commonwealth-party were very sensible of the dangerous condition of their affairs; and that they might not be altogether wanting to their own preservation, and to the service of the public, some of the principal persons among them had divers meetings; at one of which I took the liberty to make the following propositions: That seven of the council of state, and three of the Generals that had been appointed by the parliament, should sign such orders as were necessary for putting our design in execution: That the regiment of Col. Moss which lay in Kent, and not far from London, and another which lay in the borough of Southwark commanded by Lt-Col. Farnley, consisting in all of more than 2000 old soldiers, of whose integrity and affection we had good assurance, should be ordered to march to the Tower, to join with Col. Morley's regiment, which was already there, and would be ready to receive them; having sent to me to let me know that the Tower should be at my command whensoever I pleased to desire it: That the commanders of these forces should take with them provisions for six months, giving tickets for the quantity so taken payable by the parliament of England: That the militia of London which had been listed during the government of the parliament, should be authorised to meet as there should be occasion, to assist the forces in the Tower: That four or five places of rendezvous should be appointed for the forces of the army that lay scattered up and down in several parts



parts of the nation ; and that officers should be agreed upon to appear at the head of them : That the soldiers, both horse and foot, should have the liberty either to follow their old officers, or to appoint new : That those officers who should prevail with the major part of their men to follow them, should continue in their respective posts ; and that those that appeared heartily to promote this design, though they could not persuade the greater part of their soldiers to follow them, should have provision made for them equal to their merits : That the country militia, both horse and foot, should be authorised to draw together, and be empowered to seize and disarm such persons in the respective counties as were known enemies to the commonwealth : That the fleet should be ordered to declare at the same time, and to send 1 or 2000 seamen to the assistance of those in the Tower ; which I conceived they might do without danger to the nation, because the enemy we were to contend with, was intestine, and not from abroad. I acquainted them, that Vice-Adm. Lawfon, who commanded the fleet, had declared his resolution to continue faithful to the parliament ; which could not well be doubted by any that would reflect upon his former conduct, he having taken the oath for abjuring the King's family, and being one of the council of state. To this was added, that all persons who should act by the parliament's authority in this service, should be justified in so doing ; that the governors of garrisons should be required to refuse obedience to any power which was not derived from the lawful authority of the parliament, whose place the secluded members had

now usurped; and that a declaration should be forthwith prepared, to shew the grounds and reasons, together with the necessity of these proceedings. Some of those that were present promised to advise with their friends of the council of state; and hoped, that a quorum of them as well as of the Generals might be found, to put the things in execution that should be agreed on. But we being ripe for the correction of Heaven, nothing could prevent it; our enemies succeeding in all their attempts, and all our endeavours proving abortive. In the mean time, the companies of London made a great entertainment for Monk: where the bargain they had driven with him, was ratified and confirmed by dissolute and unbecoming debauchery; for it was his custom not to depart from those public meetings, till he was as drunk as a beast. After dinner a person was introduced, who in verse addressed himself to Monk for the return of the King; which he heard without reproof; though at the same time he protested to Col. Okey, who went to take leave of him in order to repair to his command, and desired to be satisfied of his intentions touching Charles Stuart, "That he would oppose him to the utmost;" and gave him his hand, before all the officers then present, as a pledge of his sincerity.

The secluded members, being convinced that the sword was likely to prove the best title they should find to their authority, prepared an act to settle the militia in such hands as they might safely trust; and took into their consideration how to settle the sum of 1000 l. a-year upon Monk, which had been voted to be given him by the parliament. The thing in dispute was,  
Whether

Whether the said settlement should be secured to him out of the King's lands at Hampton-court, as he himself had desired of the parliament, that he might lay them more profoundly asleep; or whether a sum of ready money should be paid to him in lieu of it? Divers of the members of parliament were for making good their former order upon Hampton-court; and several of the secluded members, hating the traitor, though they accepted the treason, concurred with them, that so the grant might be rendered useless to him. But his party amongst them was so great, that though it was carried to be out of the lands at Hampton-court, yet in conclusion they obtained a vote, that 20,000 l. should be paid to him out of the public treasury, instead of it.

The Irish officers also, who had assumed the civil as well as the military power, presented him with a pair of spurs, and a hilt for a sword, all of gold; together with a rich hatband and an embroidered belt, to manifest their acknowledgment and acceptance of his good service in betraying the public cause. The Lord of Lauderdale, with other Scots who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Worcester, and continued in custody from that time, were set at liberty; and the secluded members gave order also to discharge Sir George Booth from his imprisonment, if he would engage to make his appearance upon summons; which he thinking to be injurious to him, who had endeavoured to do no more than they themselves were attempting, refused the condition; but was soon after released, without entering into any obligation.

The new council of state being informed of some designs against the usurped power, issued

out warrants for apprehending divers officers of the army; and having some jealousy of others that were members of parliament, they procured an order of their house, to authorise them to seize any member who had not sat since the coming in of the secluded members, if there should be occasion. And though these men could thus trample upon the privileges of that body whereof they pretended to be members; yet, to shew how zealous they were for Presbytery, they ordered copies of the covenant to be fairly drawn, and hung up in every parish-church throughout England.

The Lords perceiving which way things were turning, solicited Monk that they might take their places according to ancient custom in the house appointed for their sitting; alledging, that nothing done by the Commons without their assent could justly be esteemed legal. But it was not yet time for Monk to discover himself so openly, before the army was better prepared, and the new militia settled; and therefore he not only gave a positive denial to their demand, but placed a guard of soldiers upon their house, to prevent the Lords from acting the same part that the secluded Commons had done.

Maj.-Gen. Overton still continued in his government of Hull; and suspecting Monk to be an enemy to the commonwealth, had hitherto refused to yield obedience to his orders. Whereupon the secluded members being well informed of the importance of the place, from the time they had ordered it to be kept by Sir John Hotham, against the late King, impowered Monk to use all means to remove the Major-General from that command. Monk, in pursuance of  
their

their directions, prevailed with Col. Alured, who was one of the Generals appointed by the parliament, to go down to Hull, and to endeavour to persuade Maj.-Gen. Overton to quit the place. Accordingly he went down; and having acquainted the Major-General with the reason of his journey, was presently put into the possession of it. It was matter of wonder to me, that Col. Alured, in whom the commonwealth-party had reposed so great trust, would suffer himself to be employed in such a message to one of the most faithful servants of the parliament. But I was somewhat more satisfied when Maj.-Gen. Overton came to London; where he assured me, that Col. Alured had neither said nor done at Hull any thing unbecoming an honest man; but that, upon the news of the intrusion of the secluded members, the Cavalier-party in the town had so increased, and his own soldiers split into such divisions, that he had no hopes left of keeping it.

At this time it was disputed, whether the secluded members should agree upon a settlement? or whether it should be left for a parliament to do? Some were for calling in the Lords who sat in the year 1648, that they, together with the Commons, might enter into treaty with the King for a future establishment, which should be grounded chiefly upon the concessions made by the last King in the Isle of Wight. But Monk being earnestly desirous to bring back the King without any conditions, in hopes thereby to procure a recompence equal to the greatness of his treachery, prevented the success of that proposition; which part he acted so openly, that divers of the secluded and other members of par-

liament resolved to imitate him. And though all of them had engaged the nation in a war against the King, had contributed the utmost of their endeavours to carry it on, and called in the Scottish nation to assist them in it; yet, upon a debate, whether those of the King's party should be admitted to elect members for the succeeding parliament? it was, to the astonishment of all men but themselves, carried for the affirmative. Having done this, they ordered writs to be issued out in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, excluding such from being chosen who had served the King. Which was contrived to lead the people blindfold to their own ruin, and to put some colour upon the cheat they were about to impose on them. For they knew, that having given leave for the Cavaliers to chuse, and, by every step they had taken, manifested their malice against the commonwealth, it would certainly come to pass, that either the sons of those of the King's party, or at least such as had privately favoured that interest, would for the most part be chosen in that conjuncture, when the commonwealth-party were under the greatest discouragements, and could not appear with safety under the usurped authority. They understood also, that though it should happen, contrary to the exclusion before mentioned, that those who had been actually in arms for the King should be chosen, and returned to sit in the house; yet we were not likely to procure them to be elected at such a time as this, having not been able, without the greatest difficulty, to cast out, even from Richard's convention, those that had been in arms against us.

The secluded members not thinking themselves

selves secure till they had put the militia into the hands of such as were enemies to the commonwealth, passed an act to that purpose, and ordered it to be printed and published. Whereat the officers about Monk were so offended, that though they had lost all affection to the public cause; yet suspecting, that the forming such a militia, and intrusting it in the hands of commissioners that were known to be favourers of the King's party, might prove injurious, if not destructive to the army, by bringing in the son of the late King without them, they applied themselves to Monk; and earnestly desired, that, in consideration of his own and their danger, he would prevent the execution of the said act. Whereupon he sent a letter to the pretended parliament, to let them know, that, being informed of the disaffection of the commissioners nominated in the act they had passed touching the militia, he desired them to forbear the execution of it, lest the persons they had intrusted therein might erect such a power in opposition to the army, as might be sufficient to bring in Charles Stuart. The letter being read in the house, caused a great perplexity amongst them; many not knowing what judgment to make of it, and some of them fearing that Monk would deceive them at last. But others understood him well enough; and therefore, notwithstanding his letter, Mr. Prynne went to the printer, and procured the act to be immediately made public, knowing it to be the desire of Monk that it should be so: yet that they might correspond with him in his deceit, they sent Sir William Waller, and one more, to give him satisfaction concerning the particulars of the act, which he pretended

pretended to scruple. They acquainted him, that though there were many persons nominated in the act, who might be willing to do as was suspected; yet that by it none were permitted to act as commissioners, but such as should own the justice of the parliament's cause against the King to the year 1648, by subscribing a paper to that purpose. They also informed him, that the said commissioners were not to appoint any Colonels or Captains to act in the militia, before they should be approved by the council of state. Monk being willing to receive satisfaction, having sent the forementioned letter only at the importunity of the officers, resolved to be contented with this answer; though all men saw how little conscience the Cavalier-party made of signing any paper, in order to promote the interest of their faction.

The act for the militia being passed, the command of all the forces and garrisons settled on Monk, and the fleet in his power in conjunction with Col. Montague, the pretended parliament authorised their council of state to provide for the public safety on all emergencies, and to dispose affairs as they should think fit till the meeting of the next parliament. Which being done, and the house ready to pass the act for their dissolution, Mr. Crew, who had been as forward as any man in beginning and carrying on the war against the last King, moved, that before they dissolved themselves, they would bear their witness against the horrid murder, as he called it, of the King. This unexpected motion prevailed with many then present to deny their concurrence to that act against the King, though not to reflect in the same manner on those who  
had



had been concerned in it : and one of them concluding his discourse, with protesting, that he had neither hand nor heart in that affair ; Mr. Thomas Scot, who had been so much deluded by the hypocrisy of Monk, as I have already related, in abhorrence of that base spirit, said, That though he knew not where to hide his head at that time ; yet he durst not refuse to own, that not only his hand, but his heart also was in it. And after he had produced divers reasons to prove the justice of it, he concluded, That he should desire no greater honour in this world, than that the following inscription might be engraven on his tomb : “ Here lieth one who had a  
“ hand and a heart in the execution of Charles  
“ Stuart late King of England.” Having said this, he and most of the members who had a right to sit in parliament, withdrew from the house ; so that there was not the fourth part of a quorum of lawful members present in the house, when the secluded members, who had been voted out of the parliament by those that had an undisputed authority over their own members, undertook to dissolve the parliament ; which was not to be done, unless by their own consent : and whether that consent was ever given, is submitted to the judgment of all impartial men. This face of authority being vanished, after a full discovery of the malignity of their intentions, I supposed the cruelty of their council of state would not fail to increase with their fears : and therefore, though I continued to pass sometimes through Westminster-hall, that they might see I was not withdrawn ; yet I did it not so frequently and publicly as I had done ; changing my lodging from the house of  
one

one friend to that of another; and when I lay at my own house, taking the best care I could do to secure myself from being surprised.

In the mean time, a considerable party of those who had been engaged against the King, resolved to raise a sum of money to pay such troops as should be willing to draw together against Monk and his partizans; and that two of their number should be bound for the peaceable deportment of Maj.-Gen. Lambert in the penal sum of 5000 l. so much being demanded by the council of state; which bond if it should come to be forfeited, and the persons bound constrained to pay the money, it was agreed that the said sum should be discharged out of the public stock. Mr. Slingsby Bethel was employed by the most eminent persons concerned in this design, to communicate their resolutions to Sir Arthur Haslerig; whom he attended at his lodgings to that purpose, and found him in a most melancholy posture, sitting in a chair, and leaning his head upon both his hands. Mr. Bethel asked him the reason of his trouble; and received for answer, That having been with Monk that morning, and pressing him to give him some assurance of his care of the commonwealth, reminding him of his oaths and protestations of fidelity to the cause, Monk had treated him in an unusual manner, and demanded how he could expect any thing from him, whom he had endeavoured to make less than he was before he marched to London? Sir Arthur added to the rest of his discourse to Mr. Bethel, "We are undone! we are undone!" Thus he that had abandoned his old friends to support the interest of Monk, and would not be persuaded of the malignity

malignity of his designs, whereby he had lost many opportunities of recovering all, was at last deserted by him, and almost driven to despair. Mr. Scot also informed me, that he had lost all hopes of getting such a number of our council of state together, as should be necessary to put in execution the design which I had proposed; and that, having notice that the new council of state had resolved to seize his person, he designed to retire into the country, as well to secure himself, as to endeavour to be elected into the ensuing convention, which, by the vote of the secluded members, was to be called a parliament. These things put me in further doubt of my own safety, and moved me to provide for myself as well as I could. To that end I seldom lay at my own house, after Mr. Scot's departure from London; and finding myself deprived of all means to serve the public, and expecting the utmost extremities that malice could invent against those that had faithfully served their country, I resolved also to withdraw myself from the observation of the usurpers, and to go into the country. In pursuance of this resolution, I departed from London, accompanied by my wife, in a small chariot drawn by two horses, having sent two servants before well mounted to attend me on the road, with a led horse for myself, if there should be occasion. The second day of my journey, early in the morning, we perceived one to ride very hard after us; who coming up to us, proved to be a person that waited on my mother, and was sent by our relations, with letters to inform me of what had happened since our departure: That about an hour and a half after we left London, a  
messenger

messenger from the council of state came to the house where I lodged, with an order requiring me to appear before them ; assuring my relations he had the like orders for summoning Mr. Miles Corbet, Col. John Jones, and Col. Thomlinson, commissioners of parliament for the affairs of Ireland, to attend the said council : that the messenger being earnest to know whither I was gone, that he might give the more certain account to those that sent him ; my sister Kempson, doubting they might send after me and seize me, had refused to answer that question ; and that my mother Oldsworth, fearing my sister's refusal might increase the jealousy of the council of state, and put them upon taking some extreme measures against me, had prevailed with my father-in-law, her husband, to wait on the council the next morning, and to inform them whither I was gone, and the cause of my removal from London. Having received this account, and soon concluding that the council either had already, or would send speedily after me, I mounted my led horse, that I might be the better prepared to make my escape, if I should happen to be pursued ; and lest they should have way-laid me on the road, I divided my little company, directing my wife with the chariot and two servants to take the common road by Bagshot, whilst I with a groom crossed the heath, and declined all public roads : so that my wife and I met not, till towards the evening I perceived her coming by a private way, which it was necessary to pass before she could reach the house of my cousin Robert Wallop at Farley, where we had agreed to remain that night. There we found Mr. Nicholas Love,

who

who had been one of the late King's judges, and who arrived there just before us. Soon after our arrival, Mr Wallop, who had been at a manor called Husbands, belonging to him, came home, and received us with his usual generosity and cordial affection, expressing no less zeal to the commonwealth than when it was in its highest prosperity. And though I acquainted him with the state of my affairs, and with the proceedings of the council in relation to me, he earnestly desired me to continue at his house. But I thought it not decent so to do: and therefore, after two nights stay, I took leave of him, and went to Sutton; where I lay with as much privacy as I could, having discovered that the master of the inn had been one of the late King's guard, and passionately addicted to the Cavalier-interest. The next day I went to the house of my cousin William Ludlow at Clarendon; where I was informed, that Mr Bainton, whom I had promised to serve in the ensuing election, had desisted from his design, and that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Mr Earnly were likely to be chosen. However, to make good my promise, I sent a letter to him, to let him know I was come into the country, and to offer him what service I could, if he persisted in his intentions to stand for the county of Wilts. Having dispatched this message, and doubting the council of state might send to seize, or at least to summon me, I went privately from Clarendon to Salisbury; and took up my lodgings at the house of one Mr Traughton, a Minister of that city; where, after I had been two or three days, I received a letter from my father Oldsworth, by which I understood he had been with

those of the council of state; and having informed them, that the design of my journey into the country was in order to settle my affairs there, they seemed to be well satisfied. He acquainted me also, that Mr Miles Corbet, Col. John Jones, and Col. Thomlinson, had attended the council, in obedience to their summons, and were not permitted to depart, till they had signed an engagement to give no disturbance to the present power. The consideration of this proceeding towards them, made me set a higher value on my deliverance from their hands, than I had hitherto done. For if I had not left the town when I did, the summons from the council had been served upon me; and if I had not appeared, it would have been taken as a contempt; but if I had appeared, they would undoubtedly have tendered me the like engagement to sign; which I could not have done any more than that which was required from me by Cromwel; and so might have been imprisoned, and in all probability detained till the return of Charles Stuart.

The time of the election drawing near, I sent a messenger to Mr Bainton for his last resolution in this matter; who returned me this answer, That having had a meeting with the gentlemen of the county at the Devizes, he had resolved not to put his friends to the trouble of appearing for him; judging it the best way rather to swim with the stream, than to be borne down with it. Being thus discharged of my engagement to Mr Bainton, I went to Maiden Bradley, and held a court at Yardenfield, that I might raise what money I could amongst my tenants, by filling up estates, and changing lives. Which

... having

having dispatched, I went to my manor of Knoyle for the same end; and being there, was much importuned by the inhabitants of the borough of Hindon, part of the said manor, to be one of their burgesses in the assembly that was to meet at Westminster. Though I durst not desire any to confer so great a trust on me, yet I confess it was no small contentment to me, that they would manifest their respects to my person, and their remembrance of my services, whatsoever they had been, in such a conjuncture, when the Cavalier-party, with what design may easily be conjectured, had printed the names of the late King's judges, of which number I had the honour to be one; and when that interest was already become so prevalent, that the heir of the Lord Cottington, though a Papist and an idiot, had found a party sufficient to put him into possession of Founthil-house, which had been given by the parliament to the Lord President Bradshaw, and to maintain him therein by open violence, against the kinsman and heir of the said President.

Having finished my private affairs, as well as I could, I was willing to have it believed, that I was gone to Salisbury; and therefore set forward on that way: but to defeat, if possible, the malice of my enemies, I went not far before I quitted that road; and having sent my chariot, wherein my wife was, to Salisbury, I mounted on horseback, and passing over the hills that lie towards Somersetshire, I went to the house of my brother Sraungways at East-Charleton; where I staid about four days as privately as I could, my horses being watered within the walls of the house, and the servants commanded to be silent concerning me.

The time of election for the borough of Hindon being come, the persons in nomination were Mr Howe of Berwick, Sir Thomas Thynne, and myself. All agreed to chuse Mr Howe; so that the dispute lay between Sir Thomas and me. The number of the electors was about twenty six; of whom I had nineteen voices, and was thereupon declared by the Bailiff to be elected, with Mr Howe, to serve for that borough. The indentures were signed, and writ returned to the Sheriff according to custom. But the agents of Sir Thomas Thynne, being unwilling to lose all their trouble and expence, and guessing, upon probable grounds, that if they could bring the case before the next assembly, they should certainly carry it against me, signed another indenture for Mr Howe and Sir Thomas Thynne, making up in number what they wanted in quality; taking the subscriptions of the rabble, who not only paid nothing either to the state, church, or poor, but also received the public alms of the parish: and to gain these, they were obliged to descend to the most unworthy artifices; affirming, that I was already fled, and that they should certainly be destroyed by the King if they elected me.

Before I went into Somersetshire, I had ordered one of my tenants, of whose fidelity I had good assurance, to find out some private house where I might remain till I could better discern what course to take. Having made a diligent inquiry, he came to me with an account, that he had found out divers places, whereof I might make choice of that which I should best approve for my retirement. Which accordingly I did, and was received with hearty affection; and, during



during the time I staid there, enjoyed great satisfaction in the conversation of the good man of the house, who was a lover of his country, possessor of an estate of about 100 l. a-year in free land; above contempt, and below envy. After I had been with him about eight days, I thought I might without much hazard give my wife a visit at Salisbury; and accordingly I went thither in the night, and lay there. The next day being Sunday, news was brought to that place, that Maj.-Gen. Lambert had made his escape out of the Tower, and that it was supposed he would be able to draw a considerable part of the army into a body speedily. Hereupon, not doubting that the utmost diligence would be used to seize Lambert, and knowing that those of Salisbury were informed that I was in those parts, I returned to my former lodging; where I had not been above two or three days, when the man that had assisted Maj.-Gen. Lambert in his escape, came to me with a message from him, to acquaint me, that divers officers of the army had been with him; that they had agreed upon two places of rendezvous, and had dispersed themselves to their respective countries, in order to put their design in execution; that they had received assurances, that the greatest part of the army would join with them: and therefore desired, that I would give orders for the forces in the western parts to draw together, and that I would meet him at the head of them in the county of Oxford. But I thought it not prudent to engage my friends in so public a manner, till I should see some probability of making a stand, whereof I conceived I might give some guess by Lambert's first rendezvous; which was

appointed to be about Daventry. In the mean time I dispatched messengers to several officers that commanded the forces in the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Wilts, to be ready to march, if there should be occasion. I received assurance from a considerable party about Taunton, that the castle should be secured for the public service, and had divers promises of the same nature from other places. The horse that lay at Salisbury began to stagger, and I doubt not would have been honest, if they had seen a force sufficient to have made it reasonable for them to appear. About eight days after my return from Salisbury, one Major Whitby came to me from Maj.-Gen. Lambert, to acquaint me with his intentions, and to consult with me, concerning the best way of drawing together the forces on our side. He assured me, that about 1000 horse were already with Lambert, and that he had good assurance that most part of the army would join with him. Having received this information, and being willing to hazard all with Maj.-Gen. Lambert or any other persons, if I might be satisfied they aimed at the good of the commonwealth, I desired to know what Lambert had or would declare for; it being that I thought the duty of every man to inform himself of the justice of the cause, before he engageth himself in it. Major Whitby answered, That it was not now a time to declare what we would be for, but what we would be against, which was that torrent of tyranny and Popery which was ready to break in upon us. To which I replied, That the best way to prevent those mischiefs, would be to agree upon something that might be contrary to them, not so much in name, as in the nature  
of

of it; whereby we might justly hope to engage all good men to favour and assist us in our enterprise; and that the utmost care ought to be taken to convince the nation of the sincerity and justice of our intentions, especially since all men knew they had been so lately cheated, by advancing a personal instead of a public interest, and therefore not likely to be so easily taken with the same bait again. So having communicated to me what he had in trust, and having received my answer, the Major departed. And two or three days after, an account was brought to me, that Maj.-Gen. Lambert's party was dispersed, and himself taken prisoner by Col. Ingoldsb'y. To which defeat an accident that happened did not a little contribute: for some of Ingoldsb'y's party in their march had met Capt. Haslerig, son to Sir Arthur, and knowing his troop to be with Lambert, they seized him, and brought him to Col. Ingoldsb'y; where he said, that, being dissatisfied with Lambert's design, he had quitted the party, and thereby hoped to be set at liberty. But Ingoldsb'y told him, that unless he would bring off his troop also from Lambert, his deserting them should be of no advantage to him. He promised to use the best of his endeavours to serve him, and thereupon was permitted to return to Lambert. When the two parties were ready to engage, he brought off his troop, as he had promised to endeavour: which caused such a consternation in the rest of the party; that many of them went over to Ingoldsb'y, and most part of those who did not think fit to follow their example, shifted for themselves as well as they could; leaving Lambert talking with Ingoldsb'y, and endeavouring to dissuade him from  
engaging

engaging any farther against him. But Col. Ingoldsby, perceiving that Lambert's party had abandoned him, rid up close to him, and required him to yield himself prisoner; which, after a short hesitation, he did, desiring Ingoldsby's Lordship, as he called him, to give him leave to escape. Col. Gobbet, Major Creed, and some other officers, were taken prisoners, and with Maj.-Gen. Lambert committed to the Tower. Thus our enemies were those of our own house, and it was not the King's party that could destroy us; which as it ought to be a subject of humiliation to us, so it can be no just cause of exaltation to them. Being thus deprived of an opportunity of appearing in the field for the service of my country, I resolved to go to London, and there to wait the pleasure of God, either by acting or suffering in his cause: where being arrived, I took up my lodging at the house of a friend who lived in Holborn; and endeavouring to learn what Maj.-Gen. Lambert designed to have done if he had kept his ground, I was informed, that he had prepared two declarations very different from each other, intending to publish that which might have procured him the greater party: but because it could not be agreed which of them was most likely to do so, he had thought fit to publish neither.

Hitherto Monk had continued to make solemn protestations of his affection and fidelity to the commonwealth-interest, against a King and house of Lords: but the new militia being settled, and a convention, calling themselves a parliament, and fit for his purpose, being met at Westminster, he sent to such Lords as had sat with the parliament till 1648, to return to the place

place where they used to sit; which they did, upon assurance from him, that no others should be permitted to sit with them; which promise he also broke, and let in, not only such as had deserted to Oxford, but the late created Lords. And Charles Stuart, eldest son to the late King, being informed of these transactions, left the Spanish territories, where he then resided, and, by the advice of Monk, went to Breda, a town belonging to the states of Holland: from whence he sent his letters and a declaration to the two houses, by Sir John Greenville. Whereupon the nominal house of Commons, though called by a commonwealth-writ, in the name of *the keepers of the liberties of England*, passed a vote, That the government of the nation should be by a King, Lords, and Commons; and that Charles Stuart should be proclaimed King of England, &c.

*The End of the Second Volume.*

811









**This book is under no circumstances to be  
taken from the Building**

[illegible]

Form 410